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ABSTRACT

Papers from an international conference on the interaction of languages and dialects in contact are presented in this volume. Papers include: "Quelques reflexions sur la variation linguistique"; "The Investigation of 'Language Continuum' and 'Diglossia': A Macrological Case Study and Theoretical Model"; "A Survey of Dialect Grammar in British English"; "The Relevance of Social Network Analysis in the Psycholinguistic Investigation of Multilingual Behavior"; "Networks, Language Variation and the Relevance of Sociolinguistic Research"; "Language Choice and Communicative Intent in a British Black Community"; "'The Essence of Language is History': A Theoretical Introduction to the Connection Between Social Relations and Language Relations in 19th Century Brussels"; "Elements de reflexion sur l'analyse des aspects societaux des contacts des langues"; "Problemes de l'enseignement des langues secondes standard pour les minorites culturelles"; "L'enseignement des langues secondes standard aux minorites culturelles a Bruxelles"; "Problemes de l'enseignement de la langue seconde standard pour les minorites culturelles"; "Macrological and Micrological Problems in the Study of Multilingual and Multicultural Education"; and "A Project of Community Bilingual Education: Some Theoretical and Applied Issues." Papers in French have English abstracts and papers in English have French abstracts. Commentaries on the papers are also included. (MSE)

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PROBLÈMES THÉORIQUES ET MÉTHODOLOGIQUES DANS L'ÉTUDE DES LANGUES/DIALECTES EN CONTACT AUX NIVEAUX MACROLOGIQUE ET MICROLOGIQUE/
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES/DIALECTS IN CONTACT AT MACRO AND MICRO-LOGICAL LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

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Avec la collaboration de / With the collaboration of:
Jean-Denis Gendron & Roland Willemyns

Problèmes théoriques et méthodologiques dans l'étude des langues/dialectes en contact aux niveaux macrologique et micrologique /

Theoretical and Methodological Issues in the Study of Languages/Dialects in Contact at Macro- and Micro-logical Levels of Analysis

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TABLE DES MATIERES / CONTENTS

Préface / Forword 1
Michel Blanc & Josiane Hamers

Introduction 3
Michel Blanc

SECTION I

Problèmes d'ordre macrologique et micrologique dans l'analyse de la variation sociolinguistique dans les situations de contact des langues et dialectes / Macrological and micrological issues in the analysis of sociolinguistic variation in language and dialect contact situations 9

Quelques réflexions sur la variation linguistique 10
Denise Deshaies

The investigation of "language continuum" and "diglossia": A macrological case study and theoretical model 30
Roland Willemyns

A survey of dialect grammar in British English 50
Jenny Cheshire

Commentaires / Comments 59
Hugo Baetens Beardsmore
Pete van de Craen

SECTION II

Le rôle des réseaux sociaux dans l'usage des langues et dialectes dans un contexte texte multilingue / The role of social networks in the use of languages and dialects in multilingual contexts 63

The relevance of social network analysis in the psycholinguistic investigation of multilingual behavior 64
Josiane F. Hamers

Networks, language variation and the relevance of sociolinguistic research 76
Pete van de Craen

Language choice and communicative intent in a British Black community 97
Viv Edwards

Commentaires / Comments 110
Denise Deshaies
Michel Blanc

SECTION III

Aspects sociétaux dans l'étude des langues en contact / Societal aspects in the study of languages in contact 113

"The essence of language is history": A theoretical introduction to the connection between social relations and language relations in 19th century Brussels. 114
Machteld de Metsenaere

Éléments de réflexion sur l'analyse des aspects sociétaux des contacts des langues 129
Alain Prujiner

Commentaires / Comments 135
Jenny Cheshire
Lorne Laforge

SECTION IV

L'enseignement des langues secondes standard aux minorités culturelles / The teaching of standard second languages to cultural minorities 139

Problèmes de l'enseignement des langues secondes standard pour les minorités culturelles . . . 140
Lorne Laforge

L'enseignement des langues secondes standard aux minorités culturelles à Bruxelles 150
Sera de Vriendt

Problèmes de l'enseignement de la langue seconde standard pour les minorités culturelles . . . 164
William F. Mackey

SECTION V

Problèmes macrologiques et micrologiques dans l'étude de l'éducation multilingue et multiculturelle / Macrological and micrological issues in the study of multilingual and multicultural education 174

Macrological and micrological problems in the study of multilingual and multicultural education 175
Hugo Baetens Beardsmore

A project of community bilingual education: Some theoretical and applied issues 191
Michel Blanc

Commentaires / Comments 202
Josiane F. Hamers

PRÉFACE/FOREWORD

Le colloque sur les "*Problèmes théoriques et méthodologiques dans l'étude du contact des langues et des dialectes aux niveaux macrologique et micrologique*", tenu à Londres du 23 au 26 mai 1985, s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une collaboration qui se développe depuis quelques années entre trois centres de recherche multidisciplinaire qui s'intéressent au contact des langues, à savoir, Le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme de l'Université Laval, à Québec au Canada (CIRB), le Interdisciplinair Centrum voor de Studie van de Brusselse Taaltoestand de la Vrije Universiteit te Brussel, à Bruxelles en Belgique (ICSBT) et le Department of Applied Linguistics, Birkbeck College, Université de Londres, en Grande Bretagne (DALB). Cette rencontre répondait au besoin de confronter, à l'échelle internationale, diverses questions d'ordre théorique et méthodologique soulevées par les recherches de plusieurs disciplines qui s'intéressent au contact des langues. Dans ce domaine la nécessité de développer une approche interdisciplinaire apparaît de plus en plus impérieuse, ainsi qu'il en était ressorti lors du premier colloque de 1983 à Québec.*

Le colloque de Londres s'était fixé quatre buts principaux:

(1) soulever, discuter et comparer les problèmes interdisciplinaires propres aux chercheurs de chaque centre tant sur le plan théorique que méthodologique;

(2) comparer les solutions que les chercheurs des différents centres apportent sur leur terrain de recherche respectif;

(3) explorer la question de savoir s'il existe des approches méthodologiques générales dans l'étude du contact des langues ou si, au contraire, ces approches doivent tenir compte de la spécificité de chacune des situations de contact des langues et des terrains d'enquête qui y correspondent;

(4) voir si l'état de nos connaissances actuelles sur le contact des langues nous permettrait déjà de dégager des universaux de comportement humain dans des situations de contact très variées.

La variété des disciplines représentées par les chercheurs des trois centres, la démographie, le droit, l'histoire, la sociologie, la sociolinguistique, la linguistique, la didactique des langues, la psychologie du langage et la psycholinguistique, a orienté les discussions du Colloque sur les questions de méthodes d'analyse aux niveaux macrologique et micrologique et sur la nécessité d'intégrer ces niveaux entre eux. En effet, la plupart des travaux sur le contact des langues, y compris ceux qui se réclament de la multidisciplinarité, ont tendance à se limiter à un seul niveau d'analyse ou, au mieux, à ne tenir compte de l'autre niveau que de façon superficielle. Or, pour saisir le phénomène du contact des langues dans toute sa complexité, que ce soit au niveau de l'individu ou à celui de la société, il est indispensable que l'analyse intègre l'individuel et le sociétal. Ce problème nous est apparu d'autant plus aigu qu'il n'existe pas encore de construits théoriques adéquats qui facilitent cette intégration entre le sociétal et l'individuel.

Les communications présentées dans ce volume, ainsi que les commentaires qui s'y rapportent, donnent une faible idée de la richesse des discussions suscitées par la rencontre entre les divers chercheurs. De ces discussions il est ressorti une meilleure appréhension du caractère interdisciplinaire de l'étude du contact des langues mais aussi une plus grande conscience de la complexité de cette approche. Les difficultés d'une telle intégration nous sont apparues de façon d'autant plus aiguë. Ce Colloque a également démontré la nécessité de poursuivre nos efforts d'intégration et notre travail en commun. Aussi nous sommes-nous donné rendez-vous à Bruxelles en 1988.

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*Voir J.F. HAMERS *et al.* (eds), 1984. *Du disciplinaire vers l'interdisciplinaire dans l'étude du contact des langues*. Québec: Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, B-135.

Au nom de tous les participants nous tenons à remercier toutes celles et tous ceux qui ont contribué au succès du Colloque, et plus particulièrement le Haut Commissariat du Canada à Londres et son responsable aux Relations Académiques, Michael Hellyer, le Conseil de Recherche en Sciences Humaines du Canada, le Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek de Belgique, le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme de l'Université Laval, la Vrije Universiteit te Brussel, le Birkbeck College de l'Université de Londres, Professor Sir Randolph Quirk, Vice-Chancellor de l'Université de Londres, Professor W. George Overend, Master de Birkbeck College, ainsi qu'Anne Beavor du Department of Applied Linguistics.

Michel Blanc et Josiane F. Hamers

PROBLEMES THÉORIQUES ET MÉTHODOLOGIQUES DANS L'ÉTUDE DES LANGUES/DIALECTES EN CONTACT

Introduction

Michel Blanc
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The scientific study of languages and dialects in contact demands not only different disciplinary approaches but an interdisciplinary integration of these diverse disciplines. But when researchers trained in as widely different disciplines as, for example, linguistics and sociolinguistics, psychology and social psychology, anthropology and the ethnography of speaking, come together to study languages in contact, they are confronted with each other's diverse problems, principles and methods. No issue, it seems, is more intractable than that of the interrelationship between macro- and micrological levels of analysis.

The distinction between these two levels can be interpreted along a number of related dimensions. The first of these concerns the kind of data analyzed, whether it is large-scale or small-scale: in the former, macrological, approach data from large population samples are examined with a view to drawing broad conclusions about language variation; a micrological approach, on the other hand, focusses on the distribution of specific items along social dimensions or on a detailed in-depth study of limited samples in natural settings.

Another aspect of the macro/micro distinction has to do with the relationships between language, the individual and society. In a sense, this takes us back to SAUSSURE's (1915) langue-parole duality: Langue is a system, an institution, a set of interpersonal rules and norms; it is collective (social) representation in individuals. Parole, on the other hand, is the actual manifestations of language in speech or writing, the individual speakers' use of the language. Although for SAUSSURE language has both a social side and an individual side and the one cannot be conceived of without the other, the author never really developed his ideas on the nature of the relationship between the two levels.

The distinction between the macro-social-structural level and the micro-individual level brings us to another distinction, that between "objective" factors, such as socioeconomic categories and the social status of languages on the one hand, and "subjective" factors, like the individual's perceptions, attitudes and language behaviour, on the other. In the sociolinguistic literature it is usually axiomatic that the macro-factors determine or at least influence the micro-factors; that is to say, the former are treated as independent variables, whereas the latter are viewed as the dependent variables. This last point raises the whole question of the interrelationship between the macro- and micro-levels of analysis and, ultimately, between the phenomena themselves.

A number of disciplines stress one pole or the other of the micro-macro dichotomy. One should note, however, that even among approaches that emphasize the importance on the same level of phenomena there are crucial differences of assumptions and constructs. Among the social sciences which privilege the micro-level, for example, are ethnographic semantics and ethnomethodology. The former tends to reject the collection and analysis of quantitative social structural data in favour of the qualitative description of categories by which individuals understand their own and others' actions. In a similar way, ethnomethodologists claim that the comprehensibility of everyday life, far from being determined by social structural norms and values, is in fact constructed by individuals in the course of interaction. But can language use in an interaction situation be explained solely in terms of the constituents of that situation? How do ethnographic semanticists explain how individual representations become social ones? And how do ethnomethodologists account for power relationships outside of individual interactions?

At the other pole, much of current sociolinguistic theory and research aims at discovering the social structural parameters that account for observed linguistic variation. But, apart from the fact that the use of such static, large-scale social variables as socioeconomic status, ethnic group and so on, have doubtful validity in the absence of a sociological theory of social relations, in such an approach language behaviour is a mere reflection of social reality. While one accepts that the analysis of the objective social conditions should come first, human social behaviour cannot be properly understood unless we can discover the subjective representations of social reality that mediate between social conditions and the effects of these on individual and collective behaviour.

The problem is, therefore, the nature of the relationship between the two levels. The difficulty lies in how to relate them without reducing one level to the other, as has too often been the case. Micro-theories tend to explain macro-factors by reference to the micro-level ("top down reduction"), while macro-theories try to explain micro-variables by reference to the macro-level ("bottom up reduction"). In both cases, the logic consists in explaining one level of phenomena by reference to phenomena of another, higher or lower, level, showing regular correlations between the two. How, then, do we go beyond the macro-micro issue? DITTMAR (1983) speaks of a "sociological paradox", owing to which the constitutive processes of social order can only be revealed by analyzing in depth speakers' social interactions at the micro-level; however, these interactions can only be understood by taking into account the macrostructure of societal values, norms and ideologies.

A number of researchers, working in very different disciplines, have put forward solutions to the problem. From the macro-level end, in the Durkheimian tradition of collective representations, BOURDIEU (1982) proposes that language is praxis and made to be spoken appropriately in specific situations. This implies preexisting objective conditions which are internalized by the individual. However, not only do objective conditions determine language behaviour, they can only be realized in that behaviour. Ultimately, objective relations are not realized except in and through the system of dispositions of agents, produced by the internalization of these objective conditions. Between what is objectively defined and the actuality of the individual's subjective behaviour BOURDIEU posits two mediating variables, *habitus* and *champ*. Habitus is made up of all possible social variables, including networks of relations, sex, age, education, occupation, which define language groups. It also confers upon the individual specific amounts of *capital*, economic, social, political and cultural (including symbolic capital like language), which determine social position. Champ is a system of power relations, based on an unequal distribution of linguistic (and other) capital, which defines which features of habitus are likely to have the most significance for discourse. The operational principle of the *linguistic market* is that individuals, and the groups they represent, act to distinguish themselves from other individuals. How this theory can be applied to a situation of languages in contact is examined briefly in PRUJINER's contribution (this volume).

FISHMAN's (1972) concept of *domains* is another attempt by a sociologist of language to define the features of an interaction that are salient for determining a speaker's choice of language in a multilingual setting. Unfortunately this concept is too general and vague to be of value. Instead, critics of the concept suggest that we should look to social relationships in the macro-system, e.g. social networks, through which speakers learn the rules of interaction and their applications in specific speech situations. For HEATH, (1983), for example, ethnographic descriptions of communities can help explain how macrosocietal rules are realized in the specific decisions of individuals in their everyday interactions. In a similar vein, GAL (1978; 1983) examines the processes by which macro-variables operate in speech situations. She defines individual language behaviour not as a matter of obeying societal norms but rather of actively constructing situations in interaction and interpreting others' communicative intents on the basis of cultural knowledge, which is itself subject to change.

The interface between macro-sociological processes and micrological face-to-face interaction is explained by Symbolic Interactionism (See, e.g. GOFFMAN, 1972) as follows: the power relations that hold between groups at the macro-level are acted out by members of these groups in the "politics of everyday life" at the micro-level. Language is the most salient, if not the only carrier of symbolic social meaning in interpersonal and intergroup interaction. Thus, all communicative acts are an integral part of macrosocial structure and serve as a shorthand for microsocial processes involving power relations. In this view, language can be expected to both mold, and be molded by social interaction.

For social psychologists linguistic variation is viewed as a dynamic, creative reflection not only of social reality, but also of psychological reality as manifest in the process of cognitive organization. Moreover, cognitive organization is itself influenced by the language behaviour of those who participate in the social interaction. By focussing upon the way in which linguistic and social factors interact as both independent and dependent variables, and by relating linguistic phenomena to how individuals construe their interactions in the communication situation, social psychologists are attempting to go beyond the macro-micro dichotomy (SMITH, GILES & HEWSTONE, 1980). Constructs like "ethnolinguistic vitality" and its perception by individuals and groups are examples of such attempts. However, the social psychological enterprise can succeed only if it starts looking to a sociological theory of social and cultural relations instead of relying on such a theoretical taxonomy as ethnolinguistic vitality. Only then will the establishment of a true "social linguistics" (VAN DE CRAEN this volume) become a reality.

Many of the issues highlighted in the preceding paragraphs are taken up and developed in most of the contributions to this volume. I will how briefly introduce these contributions in the order in which they are printed.

The first section addresses itself to *macro- and micrological issues in the analysis of sociolinguistic variation in language and dialect contact situations.*

In her insightful "Reflections on linguistic variation" DESHAIES seeks to understand language variation in terms of a series of oppositions which are seen as dialectic tensions rather than dichotomous pairs: similarity-difference, homogeneous-heterogeneous, concordance-discordance, specificity-consensus, unicity-diversity (polysemy). Society tends to stamp out differences and impose a consensus on usage, which reflects power relations. It is when the individual is confronted in his day-to-day interactions with different linguistic practices that his own usage takes on distinctive social values. Any language interaction at the micro-level therefore is deeply implicated in the value systems enforced by society at the macro-level. This view leads the author to conclude that it is not the pressure to conform that distinguish speakers in a given social network but the kind of people and groups with whom individuals wish or are compelled to conform or identify.

WILLEMYNS, investigating "language continuum" and "diglossia", agrees with FISHMAN (1972) that micro- and macrosociolinguistics are conceptually and methodologically complementary and with ROMAINE (1984) that the questions of "who" speaks "what" language "when" should be answered on a macro-basis, while the question "why" answered on a micro-basis. The issue is not which approach is better, but which specific problems require which specific procedure. WILLEMYNS starts from the working hypothesis that macrological procedures should provide an overall framework, whereas a more refined analysis of the situation demands a combination of various micrological investigations. As I pointed out earlier in this Introduction, stating a complementarity between the two levels of analysis is insufficient: what needs to be tackled is the question of the interrelationship between the two levels. The author's chief merit is to redefine the concepts of "continuum" and "diglossia" on the one hand, and those of "standard" and "dialect" on the other. He shows, first, that in the context of Dutch-speaking Belgium a diglossic native speaker who moves from learning the dialect to learning the standard is able to use both in formal as well as in informal situations, which raises methodological problems in data collection. Secondly, WILLEMYNS raises the crucial question not addressed by sociolinguists, although I would argue that C. LEFEBVRE (1974) (had anticipated it in her study of the Martinique creole continuum): "Does the continuum exist in the minds of speakers, or is it a mere artefact of the sociolinguist? Her answer is that West-Flemish speakers, while being aware of which code to use when, do not actually experience a continuum and that, therefore, the situation should be defined as diglossic. But at the macrolevel diglossia is "leaky", the functions of the H variety passing into those of the L variety; this is a sure sign of the incipient breakdown of diglossic relationships.

CHESHIRE presents a project of a Survey of Dialect Grammar in British English. The project has two aims, sociolinguistic and educational: to investigate syntactic variation in the use of English to raise linguistic awareness among teachers and their pupils. To this end, original elicitation techniques will be tried, in which pupils and teachers collaborate and discuss questions of community rather than individual usage. Many methodological questions are raised by this approach, not least problems of validity and reliability. As VAN DE CRAEN points out in his comment, one should be very cautious with interpreting the data as these will be based on reported, not actual use. Moreover, if teachers take part, they should be previously trained since they are after all the bearers of legitimate language in school. The classroom is thus an interface between macro- and micro-sociolinguistic levels. The idea of collaborating with other European countries may open up a new discipline, that of "sociodialectology" and is to be welcome.

The next section deals with *the role of social networks in the use of languages and dialects in multilingual contexts.*

In an essentially theoretical essay on "the relevance of social network analysis in the psycholinguistic investigation of multilingual behaviour," HAMERS argues that social networks are a central intervening variable in explaining the relationship between macrological, social structural factors, and individual factors like language behaviour and attitudes. It is through their social networks, in constant interaction with significant others, that individuals develop social representations, that is systems of practices, ideas and values, which are shared with other members of a society. The organization of social representations depends to a great extent on social interaction and its two salient characteristics, culture and language. When two or more languages are in contact in the environment, the individual must acquire distinct sets of linguistic rules and develop social representations that include the relative social status and values attached to the two languages. The relation between the structural and affective characteristics of the individual's network and the use of different languages or dialects within it will help to shape his social representation of language.

VAN DE CRAEN's "Networks, language variation and the relevance of sociolinguistic research" begins with a critique of the status of sociolinguistics as a science, based on DITTMAR (1983), ROMAINE (1984) and, above all, MUYSKEN (1984). Sociolinguistics is taken to task for failing to found the relationship between language structure and social structure on a sound theoretical and methodological basis when which would bridge the macro (structural) and micro (individual) levels and achieve an adequate description of language variation. In the second part of his paper VAN DE CRAEN presents the results of a small-scale investigation which attempts to relate a number of sociolinguistic variables with macro- and microsociological variables such as sex, age, SES, language history and social network strength. In a final section, following SEARLE's (1969) distinction between "constitutive" and "regulative" rules, he shows how communication occurs within a constitutive rule system that gives rise to regulative rules and new forms of language behaviour. The role of social networks is crucial in the transformation of constitutive rules into regulative rules. Thus, the social order is not a structure that binds individuals but is the result of an equilibrium between actors' interactions. VAN DE CRAEN suggests we should give up the terms "macro" and "micro": instead, we should first build small-scale approaches and carefully interpret them in order to examine the relationship between constitutive and regulative rules.

In her "language choice and communicative intent in a British Black community" EDWARDS shows how Black adolescents of Caribbean origin but born in Britain make choices from among a range of language varieties from Standard English to patois according to the situation as determined by the presence or absence of white interlocutors, the formality of the occasion, and the type of social network these adolescents have developed. Ethnographic techniques of recording and questionnaires enable her and us to eavesdrop on the reasons for individual and group choice of language variety. The marked use of the black vernacular is seen as symbolic of black identity assertion and rejection of white social norms.

The third section is devoted to *societal aspects in the study of languages and dialects in contact*. DE METSENAERE, studying "the connection between social relations and language relations in 19th century Brussels," maintains that "the essence of language is history," thus adopting a diachronic perspective. She considers language as an independent variable used to create a situation of dominance, as an element of social status and an instrument of exclusion and social mobility. She puts forward the hypothesis according to which a working class elite sought to compensate for loss of its material position by affirming a petit bourgeois social status through its ability to speak French. Her carefully documented historical analysis suggests to me interesting parallels with contemporary Quebec, where French language legislation enabled the dominated Francophone group to gain control of economic, social and political "capitals" (See the next contribution).

PRUJINER summarizes a model developed by a team of researchers for the analysis of variation in language behaviour when two languages are in contact. It is an attempt to integrate a number of language-related disciplines and macro- and micro-levels of analysis. The model in part adapts BOURDIEU's (1982) social theory of the linguistic market to a multiethnic situation, that of the Atlantic Provinces of Canada. At the macro-level, power relations are defined in terms of "capitals" (or social, economic, political and cultural assets) controlled by the different ethnic groups, and these in turn are linked to the micro-individual level via social networks by a series of testable hypotheses. In this paper the author is content with outlining the model. For a detailed presentation of the project the reader will have to consult PRUJINER, DESHAIES, HAMERS, BLANC, CLEMENT & LANDRY (1984).

The last two sections include contributions on *the teaching of standard second languages to cultural minorities speaking other languages/dialects than the majority*, and on *multilingual/multicultural education.*

Both LAFORGE and MACKEY address the question: does it make sense to speak of standard second language teaching methodology? Not only do bilingual schoolchildren from ethnolinguistic minoroties differ from their monolingual peers, they also differ from one another in respect of the domains, functions and competence mastered in their respective languages and dialects. Both authors stress the need for developing individualized language teaching methods, different from both first and second language teaching methodology, even if these methods conflict with accepted theory and practice. LAFORGE defines a new field of inquiry which he terms "intercultural didactics".

DE VRIENDT describes in some detail the problems involved in teaching French or DUTCH to children from socially deprived migrant minority groups in the primary schools of Brussels. He focusses his attention on three important aspects: how to develop communicative competence; how to ensure correct pronunciation; and how to improve non-verbal communication.

BAETENS BEARDSMORE criticizes macrosociological approaches to bilingual education for providing few theoretical insights into the success or failure of bilingual education programs. Comparing Canadian immersion (enrichment programs) with the European School experience in Brussels (maintenance), he shows how the superiority of the latter over the former cannot be explained by such macrological factors as social class, ethnicity, length of residence or methodology. Only micro-social psychological factors can provide the answer. For example, the opportunity to use the languages in the home and with relatives and peers (i.e. social networks) favours the development of such mechanisms as valorization and motivation; furthermore, it is not the quantity but the quality of language input that matters, in particular language used in interactions where meaning is negotiated between participants is far more effective than input provided in the formal context of the classroom.

In the final contribution BLANC proposes an integration of macro- and micrological approaches in an attempt to predict the outcome of bilinguality among majority and minority children. He goes on to describe a pilot project of genuine bilingual education in which majority group children would be educated through the medium of both majority and minority languages.

The papers and comments which follow have been printed in the language in which they were given, English and French being the two official working languages of the Conference. The abstracts are presented in the alternative language.

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SECTION I

Problèmes d'ordre macrologique et micrologique dans l'analyse de la variation sociolinguistique dans les situations de contact des langues et dialectes.

Macrological and micrological issues in the analysis of sociolinguistic variation in language and dialect contact situations.

QUELQUES REFLEXIONS SUR LA VARIATION LINGUISTIQUE

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Résumé / Abstract

Linguistic variation has been analyzed from various points of view in different domains of research. As the relationship between language and society may be analyzed from a macro or a micro perspective, it is no wonder that various social, psychological or linguistic explanations have been put forward regarding language variation. In this paper, we will seek to understand some of these different approaches on the basis of a fundamental principle which seems to underline interaction, language and society themselves. This principle lies in the following paradigm: same and different. The dialectic that results from this paradigm is at the basis of the notions of interaction, language, group or society. Starting with discussions of these last notions, we thereafter examine that of the linguistic variable in order to understand how different social analyses, such as those of status and solidarity or social class as opposed to social network, fit into a more general principle, namely the tension between "same and different".

Introduction

Il est maintenant courant de lire des ouvrages dans lesquels on pose comme premier postulat de base que le langage est un phénomène social. Tous les travaux en sociolinguistique, en sociologie du langage, en ethnographie de la communication, en sémiolinguistique, en analyse de discours et autres témoignent d'un effort pour analyser, saisir, maîtriser les multiples facettes que recouvre ce postulat fondamental. La diversité des champs de recherche issue de cette problématique du lien entre langage et société suscite des débats, des critiques, des affrontements, des connivences qui ne sont en fait guère différents de la réalité même qu'ils tentent de saisir. Paradigme du semblable et du dissemblable, tension entre le même et le différent, dialectique entre l'homogène et l'hétérogène, tel semble bien être ce qui caractérise non seulement le langage et la société mais aussi les conceptions théoriques différentes sur ces mêmes objets et sur les liens qui sont susceptibles de les unir. C'est à partir de ce paradigme que nous examinerons certaines incidences relatives aux variations linguistiques.

Dialectique de l'interaction

Dès que l'enfant vient au monde, il y a nécessité d'une interaction pour que la vie se poursuive. Tous les cris du bébé et tous les soins qui en découlent sont autant de demandes et de réponses que seule une interaction rend possible. Mais ces demandes et ces réponses ne sont pas en simple relation de stimulus-réponse; elles sont au contraire toujours accompagnées d'une dimension évaluative. Il n'y a qu'à penser aux diverses manières dont l'adulte peut répondre aux pleurs de l'enfant et aux effets que celles-ci sont susceptibles d'avoir sur son développement pour s'en convaincre: patience ou impatience, verbalisation ou absence de verbalisation, froideur ou tendresse, etc. affectent l'image que l'enfant se construit de lui-même et du monde qui l'entoure. Outre le comportement de l'adulte, l'enfant réagit lui-même à son environnement en manifestant son plaisir ou son insatisfaction face à ce qu'on lui offre. Très tôt aussi doit-il apprendre que ses besoins ne sont pas les seuls pertinents. Ainsi, si l'enfant manifeste par des pleurs répétés une habitude qui semble injustifiée aux yeux de l'adulte, celui-ci le lui manifestera en le laissant pleurer. L'enfant apprend ainsi lentement à reconnaître l'existence de l'autre et à comprendre que les réactions de ce dernier ne sont pas nécessairement celles qu'il commande: en somme, apprendre quand et comment susciter des réactions positives de l'autre, apprendre à aménager le choc de la rencontre constitue une partie importante de la socialisation.

Par cet ensemble de demandes et de réponses évaluées, l'enfant donne une signification à ce qu'il est et à ce qui l'entoure. Cette signification il ne pourra la former qu'en réagissant à l'autre et en recevant une réaction de l'autre, c'est-à-dire en autant que ses comportements recevront la sanction approbative ou désapprobative de l'autre et qu'il sera lui-même en mesure d'y réagir. C'est en ce sens que l'on peut dire que l'interaction est d'abord confrontation, soit action l'un sur l'autre des deux individus en présence (voir HERAUX et DESHAIES, sous presse). En l'absence d'une telle confrontation ou encore d'une telle action réciproque, on observe des cas pathologiques, comme l'exemple d'enfants autistiques en témoigne.

L'existence et la définition de l'individu n'est donc pas possible en dehors de la confrontation avec autrui. C'est la tension résultant de cette rencontre qui rend possible l'identité: chaque interaction contribue à définir les convergences et les divergences par les réactions évaluatives qu'elle suscite. Ainsi, l'identité se constitue par l'évaluation constante du semblable et du différent en rapport avec autrui.

Une telle dialectique entre soi et autrui semble également fonder l'approche de l'interaction sociale chez plusieurs auteurs. Pour GOFFMAN (1973), l'interaction sociale est guidée principalement par le souci des participants de ne pas perdre la face. Dans cette perspective, toute interaction devient potentiellement menaçante, ce qui entraîne le développement de processus de figuration pour neutraliser ces menaces potentielles.

BROWN et LEVINSON (1978) partagent le même point de vue en soulignant que "sauver la face" implique "la force négative" qui est la défense du territoire du moi et "la force positive" qui est le besoin de se faire reconnaître et apprécier par ses interlocuteurs.

Pour CHARAUDEAU (1983), toute interaction qui implique le langage est dialectique du point de vue de sa production et de son interprétation: au plan de la production, tout discours est une "expédition" et une "aventure" (p. 50): une expédition parce que le sujet communiquant conçoit, organise, met en scène ses intentions de façon à produire certains effets sur le sujet interprétant; une aventure, parce que ceci peut toujours être contrarié par l'auditeur: "le locuteur n'est en effet jamais maître des effets produits sur l'auditeur, ni maître de son inconscient, ni entièrement conscient du contexte socio-historique dans lequel il est inséré" (p. 51). Pour celui qui interprète, il y a fabrication d'hypothèses sur le savoir du sujet qui énonce et sur les points de vue de celui-ci par rapport au propos langagier et par rapport à lui-même: "toute interprétation est un procès d'intention" (p. 24).

Pour Charaudeau, "le langage est ainsi fait qu'il est marqué au sceau de la discordance et de la concordance" (p. 13). Ces deux notions renvoient à la dialectique du semblable et du différent énoncée précédemment en ce que la discordance renvoie à ce qui institue l'individu en sujet individuel et la concordance à ce qui le fait sujet collectif. Toute l'activité humaine est centrée sur le jeu du connaître, lequel amène celui du reconnaître. Connaître, c'est appréhender l'infini varié qui nous entoure par des modes de classement des objets, faits, événements, gens qui nous entourent, etc. Reconnaître, c'est définir constamment sa propre identité par rapport à ce qui est appréhendé et c'est également définir en quoi l'autre est semblable ou différent de soi. Ce qui fonde le langage et la pratique du langage, c'est "ce jeu d'agression et de complicité que jouent les acteurs du langage, dans cette affirmation d'une spécificité et d'un consensus qui s'interpellent de façon dialectique dans le même acte langagier" (p. 13).

L'affirmation dialectique de la spécificité et du consensus semble donc fonder non seulement l'interaction humaine mais également le langage qui joue un rôle de premier plan dans ce processus. Comme le langage procède de l'interaction entre individus, sa nature fondamentale ne saurait être différente de ce qui lui a donné naissance et de ce qui fonde son maintien:

> "... language is a form of interaction, and it is learnt through interaction; this, essentially, is what makes it possible for a culture to be transmitted from one generation to the next" (HALLIDAY, 1979:18).

ou encore,

> "... la langue constitue un processus d'évolution ininterrompu qui se réalise à travers l'interaction verbale sociale des locuteurs" et la créativité qui la caractérise ne peut être comprise "indépendamment des contenus et valeurs idéologiques qui s'y rattachent" (BAKHTINE, 1977:141).

Dialectique du langage

Ainsi, tout ce qui se dit et tout ce qui est fait permet à l'enfant de se construire une image de lui-même, de ceux qui l'entourent et du monde dans lequel il évolue. Par le langage, l'enfant n'apprend pas seulement à parler en entendant parler mais aussi en parlant, donc en offrant des dires susceptibles d'être évalués. L'ensemble des renforcements et des démentis, donc de l'évaluation de la production verbale, instaure un sens de la valeur des usages linguistiques (voir BOURDIEU, 1982). Même avant de savoir parler, l'enfant sait déjà la valeur que peut avoir un ordre ou une question dans la réaction qu'on exige de lui. Dès qu'il commence à parler, il apprend le plaisir que suscite chez les parents le fait qu'il soit en mesure de dire "maman", "papa". Il apprend le pouvoir des mots. Il apprend aussi à se conformer à un certain usage: si tout jeune il dit un [ta] pour un chat, son comportement suscitera du plaisir parce qu'il parle. Mais si plus tard il continue à dire un [ta] pour un chat, même si le référent dénoté ne fait aucun doute aux yeux de l'adulte, son comportement entraînera alors une correction. Et si encore plus tard il s'obstine à maintenir la forme [ta], alors la réaction de l'adulte en sera une d'anxiété et d'appel éventuel à un spécialiste, cette différence dans la symbolique langagière de l'enfant n'étant pas tolérée.

La nécessité du consensus dans l'emploi des formes linguistiques et du contenu qu'elles véhiculent constitue donc une contrainte très forte parce que ce consensus assure le maintien d'une même symbolique de représentation entre les participants à l'interaction. L'évaluation approbative ou négative qui découle de la pratique du langage permet au langage de se fixer. Dans la construction de la symbolique langagière, "tout se passe comme si le signe naissait dans un premier contexte (...) et recevait là un premier emploi qui rendait ce signe dépendant des circonstances qui ont présidé à sa naissance (l'enjeu discursif); puis ce premier emploi serait exploité à travers une activité d'abstraction qui retiendrait certaines des composantes du premier emploi pour les réutiliser dans un deuxième emploi qui dépendrait de nouvelles circonstances. De l'existence de ces deux emplois et de leur possible comparaison se construirait une première sédimentation sémantique qui constituerait un premier savoir métaculturel sur le fonctionnement des signes" (CHARAUDEAU, 1983:32). Et c'est ainsi que chaque contexte modifierait ce savoir sur le signe en le rendant chaque fois plus abstrait. Ce savoir "métaculturel" implique non seulement une connaissance de la forme et de ce à quoi elle réfère dans un contexte donné, mais également des circonstances qui ont permis de l'actualiser: les circonstances sous-tendent tout autant l'univers de savoir impliqué que les caractéristiques de ceux qui en parlent, de la manière dont ils en parlent, des rapports entre les interlocuteurs et des enjeux discursifs. C'est un potentiel de signification qui se crée (voir "meaning potential" chez HALLIDAY, 1978), lequel comprend un ensemble de réseaux paradigmatiques. A travers les actes de discours, il y a:

> "construction d'une intertextualité discursive (...) dans laquelle les marques sont en relation d'interpellation les unes par rapport aux autres (...)" et "construction d'un réseau structurel dans lequel, à force de relations de contrastes (syntagmatiques) et d'oppositions (paradigmatiques)"

il se produit une certaine cristallisation des conditions de réalisation discursive d'un signe (CHARAUDEAU, 1983:31-32). A travers la diversité des emplois se crée une unicité du signe permettant la réactualisation de celui-ci dans d'autres contextes. Dans le langage donc, il y a dialectique entre unicité et polysémie des unités tout comme le soulignait BAKHTINE en ces termes:

> "Le sens du mot est entièrement déterminé par son contexte. En fait, autant de contextes, autant de significations possibles. Néanmoins, le mot ne cesse pas pour autant d'être un. Il ne se désagrège pas en autant de mots qu'il existe de contextes où il peut s'insérer. Bien entendu, cette unicité du mot n'est pas seulement assurée par l'unicité de sa composition phonétique, il y a aussi une unicité inhérente à toutes ses significations. Comment concilier la polysémie du mot érigée en principe et son unicité? C'est ainsi que nous pouvons formuler, grossièrement et de façon provisoire, le problème fondamental de la sémantique" (1977:115).

La tension entre le même et le différent qui fonde l'interaction entre deux individus et le langage qui s'y développe trouve sa manifestation la plus évidente dans l'organisation sociale.

Dialectique de la société

Parler de société, comme parler de langage, c'est déjà parler d'histoire. Même si on ne peut en retracer toute la trame, l'organisation d'une société à un moment de son histoire fournit un terrain d'observation de la façon dont le même et le différent ont été aménagés au plan collectif. C'est par la reconnaissance d'intérêts communs qu'un nombre d'individus a pu cristalliser un ensemble de caractéristiques leur permettant de se constituer en groupe et de s'opposer par le fait même à d'autres groupes n'ayant pas ces mêmes caractéristiques:

> "Le passage de l'état de groupe pratique à l'état de groupe institué (classe, nation, etc.) suppose la construction du principe de classement capable de produire l'ensemble des propriétés distinctives qui sont caractéristiques de l'ensemble des membres de ce groupe et d'annuler du même coup l'ensemble des propriétés non pertinentes qu'une partie ou la totalité de ses membres possèdent à d'autres titres (...) et qui pourraient servir de base à d'autres constructions" (BOURDIEU, 1982: 153).

S'institutionnaliser en groupe, c'est donc annuler certaines différences pour ne marquer que le semblable et du même coup marquer la différence par rapport à un autre groupe. Tout comme l'individu ne peut se définir qu'en rapport à autrui, les groupes ne doivent leur existence, leur permanence ou leur dissolution que par rapport à d'autres groupes, c'est-à-dire en autant que la tension entre le semblable et le différent est maintenue.

La constitution en groupe permet de cristalliser un rapport de pouvoir. Dans les interactions comprenant un pouvoir institutionnalisé (les rapports de statut), la renégociation du rapport de pouvoir est limitée, les formes qu'elle peut prendre y étant bien tracées. Dans l'interaction n'impliquant pas une telle sédimentation du pouvoir, il y a possibilité de renégocier constamment le rapport de force qui y est prégnant: "c'est le socle mouvant des rapports de force qui induisent sans cesse, par leur inégalité, des états de pouvoir, mais toujours locaux et instables" (FOUCAULT, cité in HERAUX et DESHAIES, sous presse). C'est ce qui fonde, à notre avis, la distinction entre les interactions dites personnelles et les interactions dites organisationnelles, c'est-à-dire le degré auquel les identités peuvent être négociées et la manière dont le rapport de pouvoir pourra être transformé.

C'est dans cet ensemble complexe d'interactions plus ou moins fortement cristallisées que le langage s'acquiert et se développe, que des langues survivent, se mêlent, meurent. Il reste maintenant à voir comment nous pouvons interpréter dans ce cadre certains résultats de recherche relatifs à la variation linguistique.

Variations linguistiques

Par le langage, l'enfant apprend à classer et à mettre en relation non seulement les phénomènes infiniment variés du monde qui l'entoure mais également l'infiniment varié susceptible de le définir lui-même et de définir les autres qui l'entourent:

> "L'apprentissage de la langue s'accomplit par familiarisation avec des personnes jouant des rôle totaux dont la dimension linguistique n'est qu'un aspect, jamais isolé comme tel: c'est sans doute ce qui fait le pouvoir d'évocation pratique de certains mots qui, étant liés à toute une posture corporelle, à une atmosphère affective, ressuscitent toute une vision du monde, tout un monde; et aussi l'attachement affectif à la 'langue maternelle', dont les mots, les tours, les expressions semblent enfermer un 'surplus de sens'" (BOURDIEU, 1982:83, note 20).

C'est par la pratique des discours, par la diversité de ces pratiques et par les évaluations positives ou négatives que ces pratiques suscitent que se forme la compétence langagière. Ces pratiques ont lieu dans des interactions qui comportent chacune un enjeu. Tout usage linguistique qui reçoit la sanction approbative de l'autre instaure chez l'individu l'idée d'un usage qui est potentiellement valable partout et qui lui assure une image positive de lui-même. Tout ce que l'individu dit ou fait qui reçoit la sanction approbative de l'autre contribue à équilibrer la tension de la rencontre en accentuant ce qui unifie les interlocuteurs.

Ce n'est que lorsqu'il est confronté à d'autres pratiques et à une évaluation négative de ses propres pratiques que son usage linguistique recevra une valeur distinctive au plan social et que se créera alors une image d'un usage dont le potentiel d'actualisation deviendra restreint.

Les réactions positives et négatives consistent tout autant en des évaluations explicites (approbation, correction, moquerie, etc.) qu'en la reconnaissance ou non reconnaissance de la parole: dès qu'on établit un rapport à autrui par le langage, cet autre doit réagir d'une façon ou d'une autre. En effet, si aucune réaction n'est décelée chez l'autre, celui qui a pris la parole interprétera immédiatement cette ignorance de façon négative. Dès lors, réagir à la parole de l'autre en manifestant qu'on l'a entendue ou comprise est déjà une évaluation positive du discours, quelque soit le degré d'accord ou de désaccord exprimé; de même, manifester une non-compréhension du discours ou ignorer ce discours est déjà une évaluation négative de celui-ci, du moins quant à sa pertinence.

Comme c'est l'ensemble des pratiques auxquelles l'individu est confronté qui forme sa compétence langagière, il convient d'analyser ces pratiques et les enjeux des situations qui les suscitent pour comprendre à la fois ce qui est homogène et hétérogène dans le langage, leur importance relative, où l'hétérogène se situe, qui ou quoi cet hétérogène permet de distinguer, etc. Cet ensemble de pratiques consiste en ce que l'individu dit, en ce qu'il entend et dans le rapport qu'il établit à ce dire et à cet "entendu". Le discours social, c'est:

> "Tout ce qui se dit, tout ce qui s'écrit dans un état de société donné (...) tout ce qui se narre et s'argumente (...) le narrable et l'argumentable dans une société donnée" (ANGENOT, 1984:20).

Le discours social, c'est non seulement les lieux communs, ce qui est semblable, mais aussi la production sociale de l'individualité (idem, p. 21).

Analyses de la variation linguistique

Dans les analyses variationnistes, par exemple, l'accent est placé sur deux facettes de la tension entre le même et le différent: d'une part, au plan linguistique, le différent est représenté par des formes linguistiques différentes véhiculant un même référent: d'autre part, le différent au plan social est analysé dans les fréquences relatives d'emploi de ces formes qui caractérisent des groupes sociaux différents. Lorsque le même émerge de ces analyses, il caractérise le fait que tous les locuteurs utilisent conjointement ces diverses formes (ceci caractérise ce que Labov a appelé les "indicateurs" et les "marqueurs": LABOV, 1976, 1978). Il y a donc unicité dans la diversité elle-même. C'est particulièrement au plan phonologique que la pertinence de telles études a été démontrée. A d'autres niveaux d'analyse, une solide controverse a vu le jour concernant la définition de la variable linguistique, la pertinence de l'idée de règle variable en tant que représentative de la compétence linguistique, et, enfin, l'adéquation de l'analyse sociologique en termes de classe sociale, de sexe ou de groupe d'âge, etc. (voir entre autre Section 11 in DITTMAR et SCHLIEBEN-LANGE, 1982; DITTMAR, 1983).

Le débat concernant la notion de variable linguistique met en cause la pertinence du critère d'équivalence référentielle et idéologique que doivent posséder toutes formes linguistiques différentes afin de mériter d'être étudiées dans le cadre de l'analyse variationniste. Pour résoudre ce problème d'équivalence référentielle à des niveaux autres que phonétique, certains auteurs, telle THIBAULT, posent les conditions suivantes:

> "La plupart des mots du lexique d'une langue véhiculent un contenu sémantique en plus de remplir une fonction linguistique déterminée. Cependant, je prétends que les phonèmes de même que tous les mots-outils de la grammaire d'une langue n'ont pas de contenu sémantique autre que les caractéristiques de la fonction linguistique qu'ils remplissent. Voilà pourquoi à l'instar de Labov, Sankoff et autres sociolinguistes variationnistes, j'appelle variantes des équivalents fonctionnels remplissant une même fonction linguistique qui constitue la variable" (1982:74).

La façon dont le problème est résolu consiste à dire que certaines unités linguistiques sont vides de sens et que seul le contexte permet de leur donner un contenu quelconque. On peut comprendre cette position si on observe que la plupart des théories linguistiques définissent le sens des unités en fonction d'un référent privilégié: par exemple, dans le paradigme des pronoms, _on_ est classé comme indéfini renvoyant à des animés alors que _ça_ est décrit comme un inanimé. Or dans les pratiques discursives, _on_ est loin d'être toujours un indéfini et _ça_ ne renvoie pas toujours à de l'inanimé. Comment résoudre ce paradoxe? Si on ne remet pas en cause les définitions données en linguistique et si on les prend pour acquises,il ne reste plus alors qu'à conclure que ces unités sont vides de sens et on peut étudier des formes linguistiques différentes comme _ça_, _il(s)_, _on_ (voir THIBAULT, 1982) lorsqu'elles prennent même valeur référentielle dans certains contextes. Evidemment, une autre solution consiste à délaisser les définitions basées sur les seules valeurs référentielles en tentant de définir le sens plus abstrait de ces unités, c'est-à-dire le potentiel de signification qu'elles possèdent pour être ensuite actualisées et comprises adéquatement en discours. La définition d'une telle valeur abstraite permettrait d'expliquer l'emploi cohérent de telles unités en discours, voire même régulier et ce, même dans leurs variations référentielles. Mais ceci n'étant pas l'objet de notre propos et ayant développé ailleurs cette problématique (voir DESHAIES et OUELLET, 1983; DESHAIES, sous presse; OUELLET, sous presse), nous nous attarderons aux autres controverses relatives à l'analyse variationniste.

Pour la variable phonologique, l'équivalence référentielle ne pose guère de problème: par exemple, produire _i'fait beau_ ou _il fait beau_ ne modifie pas l'état de chose (ou le référent) dénoté par le pronom _il_. D'où il est possible d'analyser la fréquence relative de l'emploi et de la chute du _l_ dans les pronoms et articles sans soulever le problème épineux de l'équivalence: tous les auteurs sont d'accord sur ce point. La divergence entre les points de vue se manifeste cependant dans les interprétations linguistiques et sociologiques de la variation linguistique.

Au plan linguistique, le débat se déroule autour des idées de compétence et de performance, lesquelles mettent en cause la notion de _règle_ utilisée en grammaire générative. Pour les uns, le degré de probabilité auquel une _règle variable_ peut se réaliser selon divers facteurs fait partie intrinsèque de la compétence des locuteurs (voir LABOV, 1976). Pour les autres, cette règle variable n'est indicative que de la performance de ceux-ci. Ce débat sous-tend deux problèmes différents: d'abord celui qui est relatif au fait que la variation puisse être constitutive du système linguistique, ensuite celui qui a trait à la pertinence des chiffres. Comment résoudre ces problèmes? L'examen des fait observés nous semble le meilleur moyen d'amorcer une ébauche de solution.

A titre d'exemple, les résultats d'analyse de la chute du l dans 16 entrevues d'adolescents et dans 11 entrevues de parents provenant de milieux sociaux différents de la ville de Québec ne révèlent aucune différence sociale quant à la fréquence d'élision et de prononciation du l dans les pronoms il et ils. Tous les locuteurs élident également ce l dans les pronoms elle, la et les tout en le prononçant dans ces même contextes. Présence et absence du l caractérisent donc la production linguistique de tous les locuteurs étudiés. Mais qu'en est-il de leur compétence? On sait que cette chute du l est attestée depuis fort longtemps en français comme en témoignent de nombreuses études historiques et dialectales (voir entre autres, JUNEAU, 1976). Bien qu'on ne soit plus en mesure de retracer la trame exacte de l'histoire de la chute et du maintien de cette consonne, son attestation historique et synchronique indiquent bien que le langage est acquis dans la pratique et que même la variation peut se transmettre de façon stable d'une génération à l'autre, indiquant par là le fort consensus qui s'attache à la pratique de la langue. Il ne fait aucun doute que le potentiel de signification ou la compétence de l'individu comprend aussi bien le l que son absence: la variation entendue par l'enfant est incorporée par lui et un réseau complexe de possibilités de réalisations phonétiques se met alors en place. HALLIDAY (1978) accorde une place similaire à la variation lorsqu'il écrit:

> "Sociolinguistic discussions have often rested on the tacit assumption that there was nothing at all to be said about the choice between cat and dog — that is a matter of the system — whereas a distinct theory was needed to account for the choice between cat and mog [mog being a slang term for "cat" in certain British dialects]. But both these choices are choices that are made within the linguistic system; what is needed is a theory which accounts for both (pp. 62-63).

Dans une telle conception, il est possible de démontrer que si l s'oppose à d'autres sons dans le réseau d'oppositions phonologiques des locuteurs qui leur sert à distinguer la de ma ou laver de baver, l peut aussi s'opposer à son absence et constituer ainsi un autre réseau d'oppositions qui peut être variable.

Variable ne veut cependant pas dire "chiffres" dans notre esprit. Variable signifie que le réseau d'opposition comporte des indices fondant la possibilité d'élider le l dans les articles et pronoms et non dans un mot comme laver par exemple, même si le locuteur n'a aucune notion métalinguistique de ce qu'est un pronom ou un article. L'observation du comportement des locuteurs manifeste une telle régularité à ce niveau qu'il nous semble difficile de l'expliquer autrement.

En ce qui concerne les chiffres, ceux-ci semblent reliés à une autre dimension, soit le sens social que prend tout phénomène de variation. En effet, toute opposition paradigmatique entre deux formes différentes entraîne ipso facto une valeur: valeur relative à deux référents différents dans le cas de laver et baver, par exemple, où l et b s'opposent; valeur relative à des pratiques langagières différentes dans le cas de i et il par exemple, où absence et présence du l s'opposent. C'est la différence qui fonde la valeur des unités. Cette différence ne concerne pas la seule capacité dénotative du langage ou sa capacité nominative mais également sa capacité d'exprimer toute autre forme de rapport au monde et à autrui. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, le langage serait ce Nov-langue décrit par Orwell dans son roman 1984, soit cette langue dépouillée de sa capacité polysémique et enfermée dans une stricte monosémie, c'est-à-dire dans l'univocité d'un référent assignée de façon dogmatique à une forme donnée. Si les langues n'en sont pas encore là en 1985, la forme codifiée et standard du langage nous montre tout de même une tendance à cette univocité dans certaines de ses manifestations, comme la graphie des mots en est un exemple frappant. Cette tendance à l'uniformisation des pratiques linguistiques dans le processus de standardisation naît toujours de la nécessité de cristalliser des modes de langage au moment où se cristallisent également des rapports de pouvoir sociaux. L'histoire de la codification des langues est là pour l'attester.

Dans le cas de l'exemple du l, il n'y a plus d'hésitation sur la graphie: le l est toujours présent. Etant donné cet état de chose, nous faisons l'hypothèse que c'est la familiarisation avec la pratique de la lecture et de l'écrit qui instaure chez l'individu un sens de la valeur sociale de cette unité. En effet, l'absence des l dans les pronoms et articles ne semble pas être l'objet de correction ouverte à l'oral contrairement à d'autres unités du langage. De plus, les pratiques auxquelles sont confrontées les enfants comportent à la fois un fort taux d'élision du l et une présence de cette consonne et ce dans tous les milieux sociaux. Il semble donc que pour cette variable, ce serait la familiarisation aux pratiques écrites du langage et aux pratiques orales amenant l'usage d'une langue quasi-écrite qui amènerait l'individu à modifier la fréquence d'emploi de cette unité en fonction des situations et des enjeux qu'elles constituent pour lui. Cette hypothèse nous semble du moins intéressante à approfondir étant donné la similitude des pratiques des locuteurs en situation d'entrevue.

D'ailleurs, un exemple de discours tenu à ce propos dans nos entrevues (voir DESHAIES, 1981) semble intéressant. Les deux membres du couple dont il est question ont tous deux une expérience diversifiée au plan de la pratique quasi-écrite du langage. L'un est enseignant et provient d'une famille où le père était lui-même enseignant. Il a de plus été très actif au plan syndical et au niveau politique; l'autre provient d'un milieu ouvrier, a une formation de secrétaire bilingue, a travaillé au sein des comités d'école, a été animatrice à la télévision, a fait des conférences, s'est occupée de certaines bibliothèques, est également active au plan politique, etc. De plus, tous deux revenaient tout juste d'un séjour d'un an en France au moment de l'entrevue. L'entrevue effectuée auprès d'eux est la plus longue de toutes nos entrevues (elle dure plus de 4 heures) et les deux membres du couple y initient eux-mêmes plusieurs thèmes de discussion bien que la situation d'entrevue restreigne par définition ce type de pouvoir langagier (voir HERAUX et DESHAIES, sous presse). Les discussions sur la langue occupent une large place dans cette entrevue et plusieurs d'entre elles sont initiées par l'un ou l'autre membre du couple. La référence aux diverses expériences vécues y est de plus très fréquente et illustre la sensibilité langagière que provoque la confrontation à des pratiques diversifiées. Entre autres, pour revenir à la question du *l*, alors que les interlocuteurs discutaient de la façon dont ils évaluaient leurs propres pratiques linguistiques, Monsieur a indiqué:

Monsieur (201): "ben écoute, dans mon travail moi, c'est ben sûr que j'me sens obligé de parler aux jeunes avec qui j'travaille, de parler un français correct. J'essaie de parler un français correct et même ça m'est reproché de parler un français trop correct. Mais quand j'suis dans un milieu autre, ben j'me permets d'parler euh... ben comme tous 'es [twe] Québécois peuvent ...

Madame (101) (en se moquant) : comme tous 'es Québécois, comme tous 'es Québécois (rire)

Enquêteur : rire"

...et Monsieur de poursuivre son idée...

On pourrait disserter longuement sur ce discours et sur sa signification sociale. Qu'il suffise de mentionner que pour le locuteur, l'enjeu de sa position de professeur est tel qu'il *se sent obligé* de parler un *français correct* dans les situations mettant en jeu un rapport de pouvoir qui est socialement cristallisé (le statut de professeur par rapport aux élèves). Ailleurs, heureusement, cette tension peut s'atténuer et il *se permet* alors de *parler comme tous 'es Québécois*. Madame saisit alors ce [twe] en répétant deux fois l'énoncé de son époux et en l'assortissant d'un rire qui est partagé par l'enquêteur. L'élision du *l* dans ce contexte est d'autant plus marquée que Monsieur vient d'une part de parler de la tension langagière résultant des situations auxquelles il est confronté et que d'autre part, la forme [twe] pour *tous les* est étrangement semblable, au plan phonétique, à la forme socialement stigmatisée [twe] utilisée à la place de *toi*.

Ce court extrait d'interaction illustre de façon non équivoque que les enjeux que constituent les situations sociales sont déterminants dans la pratique linguistique et dans la sensibilité que les individus développent à cet égard.

D'autres discours dans cette entrevue pourraient être cités pour souligner l'importance de la diversité des situations vécues par les individus pour rendre compte de leurs pratiques linguistiques, dont le suivant où Madame parle de son séjour en France:

Madame (101) : "Faut dire que le fait d'avoir été un an là, à faire attention (rire). C'est vrai t'sais, là-bas euh... fallait... j'avais... j'voulais toujours me faire comprendre. J'ai continué à parler en québécois mais j'disais pas mes p'tites expressions que d'autres f... que j'pouvais dire ici parce que (rire) i'pouvaient pas m'comprendre quand j'disais "tabarnouche". Eux autres trouvaient ça ben l'fun; j'disais "tabarouette", t'sais moi j'ai, j'ai des patois pis j'devrais pas avoir euh... j'devrais avoir des patois plus délicats. Personnellement là, j'aime pas mes patois pis j'm'étais promis, j'm'étais ben dit quand ch'partie en juillet (...) là cette année pour rentrer au Québec: "j'dirai pus maudit, ça a pas d'bon sens" (...) mais j'ai ben d'la misère à pas dire "maudit". Pis là-bas, je l'disais aussi parce que ça faisait rien, pis, plus que ça, là-bas tu sacrais pis ça passait comme du couteau dans l'beurre parce que eux-autres, ça a aucune importance. Alors euh... un moment donné euh... j'avais un défoulement pis euh... j'sais qu'j'étais avec une copine pis j'disais, j'pouvais dire "maudit tabarnouche" et pis "oh" a dit "maudit tabernouche, qu'est-ce que c'est?" t'sais eux-autres... le fait qu'i avait pas de réactions mauvaises vis-à-vis les amis que j'avais là-bas, ben j'm'en foutais, t'sais (rire) mais ici c'est pas bien".

Dans ce discours transparaît la tension entre la spécificité et le consensus: la spécificité, c'est le besoin de se défouler et d'associer à ce défoulement les mots qui ont le pouvoir de l'évoquer. Le consensus, c'est la recherche de l'approbation de l'autre: si les mots évoqués n'ont pas pour l'autre la même valeur sociale négative (celle de la colère), alors le consensus n'est pas menacé et leur emploi passe "comme du couteau dans l'beurre". Mais lorsque cette valeur est partagée, il y a risque de désapprobation par l'autre et la même forme est alors évaluée de façon négative: "mais ici c'est pas bien". Les mots qui forment la compétence du locuteur comportent donc à la fois un potentiel de signification dénotatif et évaluatif.

Un autre extrait d'entrevue permettra d'aborder un phénomène de variation dû au contact entre deux langues. Cette entrevue concerne un couple originaire du Nouveau-Brunswick qui vit au Québec depuis 1951. L'un et l'autre viennent de milieux d'agriculteurs et ont fait des études au niveau primaire. Monsieur a toujours été dans l'armée, d'abord comme soldat pendant la 2e guerre mondiale et ensuite comme barman jusqu'à sa retraite, après quoi il a occupé divers postes de gardien de sécurité. Madame est toujours restée à la maison, d'abord pour s'occuper de sa mère malade, ensuite pour élever ses huit enfants. Les discours qu'ils tiennent sur la langue sont également nombreux mais les situations qu'ils évoquent sont différentes de celles prévalant chez l'autre couple mentionné: la confrontation provoquée par leur arrivée au Québec y occupe une place importante, dont en voici un exemple où Monsieur parle d'une des raisons qui l'ont amené à déménager sa famille:

Monsieur (226): "C'est parce que moi j'étais dans l'armée pis euh... ça m'faisait trop loin pour voyager, j'pouvais rien qu'aller à tous 'es trois mois, ça fait euh... j'ai déménagé... j'étais à St-Jean d'Iberville pis après j'ai été transféré à Val Cartier ici, pis aussitôt j'ai été transféré là, ben là, j'ai été chercher ma famille, j'l'ai montée à Val Cartier, j'ai pris une maison dans l'armée, j'les ai movés à euh... Val Cartier.

Enquêteur : Comment?

Monsieur : j'l'ai transférée à Val Cartier.

Enquêteur : Ah bon, O.K.

Madame (126) : C'est parce qu'on parle comme les Nouveaux-Brunswi.. co.. ya des mots vous comprenez pas hein? "j'l'ai mové", ça veut dire que on est déménagé (en riant).

Monsieur : Si on parlait comme les Français, ça poserait pas...

Enquêteur : Non, c'est parce qu'i parle pas fort, c'est pour ça.

Madame : Ah oui, pis y est loin.

Monsieur : ch' pas capable de parler fort.

Cet extrait est suffisamment explicite pour se passer de commentaires. Remarquons seulement qu'au plan linguistique, la compétence des locuteurs inclut au moins tous les items lexicaux mentionnés: "déménager", "monter sa famille à Val Cartier", la "mover", la "transférer" à Val Cartier. Dans le discours de monsieur, chacune de ces unités a sa place et y joue un rôle discursif particulier. Mais la réaction de l'enquêteur à la suite de l'usage du verbe "mover" suscite immédiatement une réplique des deux membres du couple qui interprètent le "comment" de l'enquêteur comme un manque de compréhension du mot. C'est la dimension évaluative du comportement qui ressort à ce moment et qui entraîne un discours explicite sur la confrontation de pratiques langagières différentes: la valeur sociale dans le paradigme d'opposition de ces verbes confronte ici des pratiques langagières opposant deux groupes, les Néo-Brunswickois et les Québécois.

Les exemples de l'élision du l et du verbe "mover" nous permettent d'aborder les débats relatifs à l'interprétation sociologique de la variation linguistique.

Au plan sociologique, les divers points de vue s'articulent autour de la tension entre l'interaction réelle des individus et leur appartenance à tel ou tel groupe, c'est-à-dire à tel ou tel classement pertinent sociologiquement. Les uns, comme en ethnométhodologie, soutiennent que l'ordre social est obtenu dans un microcosme d'interactions quotidiennes et ils refusent de ce fait d'analyser le langage à partir de concepts, tels ceux de classe sociale ou de prestige, en soutenant que de tels classements dénotent des attitudes préconçues. Les autres, comme en sociologie du langage et dans certaines études sociolinguistiques, défendent au contraire l'idée que ce sont des catégories constituées historiquement qui déterminent la vie sociale des individus de sorte qu'il est nécessaire d'étudier le langage à partir des catégories ou regroupements divers qui ont une pertinence dans l'organisation sociale. Entre ces points de vue opposés, se situent certains chercheurs qui tentent d'allier l'idée d'interaction à celle de groupe en utilisant la notion de réseaux sociaux. Dans l'étude des réseaux sociaux, ce sont les mesures de densité (degré de connaissance réciproque des individus du réseau) et de multiplexité (nombre de rôles qu'un même individu joue pour le locuteur) qui ont servi de base aux études linguistiques, permettant ainsi de regrouper les interactions observées en termes de réseau fermé ou ouvert et d'interpréter les comportements langagiers analysés en termes de solidarité et de statut (voir MILROY, 1980).

La plupart des recherches émanant de l'un ou de l'autre point de vue ont révélé des résultats pertinents et bien validés. D'où le fondement des débats ne peut résider dans les analyses empiriques elles-mêmes. Il réside plutôt, selon nous, dans le caractère universel que l'on est tenté d'attribuer à sa problématique d'analyse ou à celle des autres, soit cette tendance à poser comme seul modèle d'analyse, et ce de façon statique, ce qui en fait ne dévoile qu'une partie de la réalité.

Au plan de l'analyse ethnométhodologique, les extraits de discours cités permettent d'analyser la validité de ce modèle. On y voit les rapports qui sont en jeu, les évaluations que tout discours peut susciter, les effets que ceux-ci peuvent avoir sur les interlocuteurs. Dans l'exemple impliquant la discussion sur le verbe "mover", la tension résultant des discours tenus est particulièrement saillante: non seulement le "comment" de l'enquêteur est-il interprété comme un manque de compréhension et entraîne-t-il une explication, mais encore est-il accompagné d'un discours justificatif sur la différence entre deux pratiques langagières, justification qui est même assortie d'une forme de regret par Monsieur: "si on parlait comme les Français...". C'est à ce moment que l'enquêteur interrompt Monsieur pour fournir sa propre interprétation de son "comment" qui est relative au fait de pouvoir entendre ce qui est dit et non de pouvoir le comprendre: "c'est parce qu'i parle pas fort". Cette réaction de l'enquêteur nous semble explicable non seulement par le besoin de dire ce qui s'est réellement passé pour elle, mais aussi par le fait que son "comment" a provoqué une image d'une symbolique langagière non partagée, mettant en cause l'évaluation même de cette symbolique: si elle n'avait pas réagi, elle aurait signifié implicitement qu'elle partageait l'évaluation produite. Comme elle semble refuser le fait que les autres puissent penser qu'elle partage une telle évaluation, il y a réaction de sa part. Sa réaction lui permet donc de ménager sa propre face, sa compréhension du langage d'autrui étant mise en cause, ainsi que celle de ses interlocuteurs qui attribuaient ce manque de compréhension à leur propre pratique.

Au plan de l'analyse en classes sociales ou autre, la validité de celle-ci est illustrée dans le premier exemple par la part importante que joue le statut de professeur dans le comportement de ce locuteur non seulement par le contenu de son discours mais aussi dans sa pratique elle-même. Mais la position sociale n'est pas la seule pertinente. L'importance des réseaux est aussi soulignée lorsque le statut de professeur et l'obligation d'une langue correcte sont opposés à un ailleurs et à une permission de parler comme tous les Québécois, lorsque la permission de "sacrer" avec quelqu'un qui se fâche différemment de soi est opposée au désir d'éviter ce comportement avec quelqu'un qui peut comprendre ce que ce "sacre" sous-tend, et, enfin, lorsque la forme "mover", associée aux Néo-Brunswickois, est opposée à la forme "déménager", associée à ceux qui parlent français.

Cependant, dans ces réseaux, c'est-à-dire dans ces expériences d'interaction, ce n'est pas tant la densité ou la multiplexité en soi qui jouent un rôle, mais la diversité sociale des expériences auxquelles les individus ont été confrontés et les enjeux qu'elles ont représentés pour eux. En ce sens, la densité et la multiplexité nous paraissent des mesures valables en autant qu'elles seront subordonnées à une mesure de la diversité sociale des expériences.

Les notions de statut et de solidarité perçues comme caractérisant les réseaux ouverts et les réseaux fermés dans la théorie des réseaux prennent également une autre couleur. Le statut renvoie, pour sa part, à tout rapport de pouvoir cristallisé. Cette cristallisation peut prendre la forme d'un rôle institutionnalisé, comme c'est le cas du rôle de professeur: dans ce dernier cas, l'identité provenant de ce pouvoir sédimenté se réaffirme et se maintient par la pratique de la symbolique langagière qui le fonde, soit la "langue correcte". Le pouvoir cristallisé peut également prendre la forme d'évaluations sociales sédimentées (ou lieux communs), comme c'est le cas des rapports entre français du Québec / français de France et français du Nouveau-Brunswick / français du Québec: dans ces cas, ces évaluations sédimentées opposent des groupes dont le pouvoir se réaffirme et se maintient par la pratique langagière convergente de ceux qui y sont confrontés.

La solidarité concerne, pour notre part, l'aspect de la "force positive" dans l'interaction, soit cette nécessité de se faire reconnaître et apprécier de ses interlocuteurs. Dès lors, comme toute interaction implique un rapport de force, une tension entre le même et le différent, la solidarité se manifestera dans toute interaction où les participants tentent d'ajuster leurs pratiques langagières à la symbolique qui y est prévalente, parce que cette interaction comprend un enjeu de reconnaissance de la similitude. Par contre, si c'est la différence qui constitue l'enjeu principal de l'interaction pour le locuteur et ce qu'elles qu'en soient les raisons, alors il accentuera par sa pratique langagière ce qui fonde sa spécificité en tant qu'individu ou en tant que membre d'un groupe donné.

Ainsi, la solidarité est un résultat d'un des pôles de l'interaction, susceptible de se manifester dans chacune d'elle, que l'on ait affaire à des individus ayant des réseaux ouverts ou fermés ou que ces individus appartiennent à tel ou tel groupe social.

Conclusion

Analyser les variations phonétiques, lexicales, syntaxiques dans une langue ou analyser les variations dans le degré de bilinguisme d'individus devant pratiquer deux langues différentes, tenter d'expliquer des comportements langagiers comme l'emprunt, l'alternance de codes, le degré de mélange de langues en contact, etc. impliquent que le chercheur doive d'abord partir des individus, de la diversité de leur expérience sociale, des tensions et des enjeux que celle-ci représente pour eux, ainsi que des conflits, des contradictions, des ajustements constants que celle-ci provoque.

Etudier une interaction particulière ou tenter de dégager des règles générales quant au comportement linguistique de groupes différents ou encore tenter de généraliser des conséquences cognitives à partir de certaines pratiques langagières ne sont pas en soi des tentatives dénuées de fondements. Mais poser une analyse particulière comme seul modèle explicatif de ce qui est observé nous semble particulièrement injustifié. Par exemple, une symbolique langagière particulière associée à certains groupes devant faire appel à plus d'une langue est dénommée "semi-linguisme", c'est-à-dire un comportement manifestant l'incapacité de certains locuteurs d'utiliser une langue quelconque de façon correcte. L'incapacité analysée est relative à la pratique de symboliques langagières différentes, c'est-à-dire souvent aux pratiques standard des langues impliquées. Dans la notion de semi-linguisme, on omet d'analyser tout ce qu'implique de complexité de signification, donc de complexité cognitive, le moindre usage linguistique. Qui plus est, on y confond compréhension et production. Or ces deux aspects sont nettement distincts l'un de l'autre et l'on ne saurait faire reposer sur la seule production, et surtout sur la seule production standard, toute la capacité cognitive des individus. Enfin, on oublie que ce qui est sous-jacent à toute forme de langage, ce sont les interactions auxquelles un individu a été confrontées avec tout ce que cela comporte d'efforts, de tension, d'identification, de dialectique.

Dès lors, il ne serait pas inutile de rappeler que nos conceptions mêmes de ce qu'est une langue doivent être modifiées; si les "chances sociales" d'un individu résident dans ses succès scolaires et que ceux-ci reposent sur une conformité à la symbolique langagière qui y prévaut, soit le standard, encore faut-il que cette symbolique constitue un enjeu valable pour l'individu. Pour nous, l'enjeu ne sera valable que si c'est le contenu ou l'univers de savoir investi qui est perçu comme important et, si tel est le cas, la forme pour le véhiculer suivra d'elle-même. Fonder l'importance des contenus du savoir nous semble la première démarche à faire en milieu scolaire pour motiver l'apprentissage.

Quant aux recherches sur le langage, nous aurions avantage à nous rappeler ces mots d'Halliday concernant les réactions aux variantes non standard:

> "People are reacting to the fact that others mean differently from themselves; and they feel threatened by it. It is not just a simple question of disliking certain sounds, though that is the form it takes on the surface; but of being anxious about certain ways of meaning. The trouble lies not in a different vowel system but in a different value system. If I object to somebody's vowels sounds, or to the structure of their sentences, I am likely to express my objection either as aesthetic ("they are ugly") or as pragmatic ("they are a barrier to communication"), or both. This is how I feel it to be. But I am really objecting to these things as symbols, and being linguistic symbols, they are doubly charged: they function on the one hand directly, as indices of the social structure, like beards and styles of dress, and on the other hand indirectly, as part of the realization of the meanings through which the speaker is acting out his subcultural identity" (1978:162). "It is (...) not the distance between the two realities but the tension between them that is significant." (p. 171).

Ayant toujours à l'esprit ces mots, peut-être trouverons-nous important d'écouter ceux que l'on étudie et d'approfondir la richesse de leur expérience sociale ainsi que les significations que celle-ci a pour eux: peut-être pourrons-nous alors arriver à des théorisations plus nuancées et, surtout, à des explications susceptibles d'amener des solutions plus adéquates et plus justes pour tous.

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THE INVESTIGATION OF "LANGUAGE CONTINUUM" AND "DIGLOSSIA": A MACROLOGICAL CASE STUDY AND A THEORETICAL MODEL

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Résumé / Abstract

Bien que les concepts de continuum linguistique et de diglossie soient largement utilisés et discutés, ils n'en restent pas moins vagues et employés de façon différente par différents linguistes. Dans la première partie de cette communication ces deux concepts sont examinés dans le cadre des recherches sociolinguistiques actuelles portant sur la Belgique néerlandophone. Une définition théorique du continuum linguistique est proposée, alors que pour la diglossie la distinction de FASOLD (1984) entre diglossie "large" et diglossie "perméable" est discutée et adoptée. La seconde partie commente les résultats d'une enquête macrosociolinguistique sur le comportement langagier déclaré de locuteurs de deux villes ouest-flamandes, Oostende et Diksmuide. La conclusion est que, dans l'esprit des usagers en tout cas, il n'existe pas de continuum linguistique, dans le sens habituel de ce terme. La situation est donc diglossique. Il est évident que le type d'enquête suivie ne peut nous apporter des réponses qu'au niveau macrologique. Une vue détaillée et explicative ne sera possible qu'après que les composants micrologiques auront été ajoutés. Mais l'information macrologique est nécessaire en vue d'établir quelle sorte d'enquête micrologique devra être poursuivie.

The relation of macro- and micrological approaches in language-in-contact-situations is hardly different from what it is in any sociolinguistic analysis or investigation. As Fishman has stated "micro- and macro-sociolinguistics are both conceptually and methodologically complementary" (FISHMAN 1972b, 31). The question to be debated, therefore, is not which approach is "better", but which specific problems require which specific procedures. Micro and macro being complementary, it is problem specifications which should determine the selection of methods. Hence a theoretical debate is possible on which procedures in fact belong to the micro- or macrological level of analysis (BREITBORDE 1983) and which procedure is supposed to be most fitting in specific cases of language/dialect-in-contact-situations. But even here I favour an ad hoc procedure which lets problem specifications determine what to do. My working hypothesis then is that generally macrological procedures should provide an overall framework, whereas a more refined analysis of the situation may be brought about as a result of a combination of various micrological investigations. I will try to demonstrate this methodological assertion by discussing a case study.

In order to contribute to the general theme I should like to analyse the code-in-contact-situation in a particular part of the Dutch language territory, viz., the Belgian province of West-Flanders, where the local dialect interacts not only with the standard language but presumably also with other, intermediate variants. An inquiry in this respect was carried out at the end of 1983 (for details, see WILLEMYNS 1985) and it is hoped that this case study will yield some generally useful results as to today's theme in particular and to the overall theme in general.

In a previous paper (WILLEMYNS 1984c) I distinguished, for the Flemish community as a whole, between five codes. Undoubtedly these five codes are present in West-Flanders as well but their status and interactions may be quite specific, the very strong position of the local dialect being one of the peculiarities of the particular situation there. Debating the question "why do localized codes persist", Susanne Romaine states that "the conditions of maintenance should be established on a macro-basis and the question why answered on a micro-basis" (ROMAINE 1984).

Since the "question why" can hardly be answered without the "conditions of maintenance" having been established, it is obvious that our case study should be a macro one.

Any kind of analysis of the contact situation in a particular region is bound to bring up the problem of diglossia and, consequently, of the "language continuum", two macro concepts which, in their turn, will also necessitate micro investigations in order to be fully clarified. They have in common that they are widely used and discussed yet remain vague and are often used in a different way by various linguists. Both terms are obviously linked together since in a "classical" so called "dialect-standard"-community it is assumed that:

a) more codes exist than only pure dialect and standard language,

b) the different codes constitute a continuum, the two extreme poles of which are dialect and standard; yet all the codes overlap as well. A typical example of this is Ammon's description of the Swabian situation (AMMON 1977).

If particular functions may be assigned to particular codes, however, it is questionable whether we are still in the presence of a normal "dialect-standard"-situation or whether it is rather to be labelled a diglossic one. Since diglossia is indeed a rather disputed term it may be useful to examine it in more detail.

Diglossia was introduced into linguistics by FERGUSON (1959):

> "Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and

> respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary communication" (336).

Ferguson, in this respect, speaks of L and H varieties (Low and High) and gives examples of such diglossic communities as the Arab Community, Greece and German-speaking Switzerland.

This definition, explicit as it may seem, gave rise to widespread misunderstandings and/or different interpretations. This accounts for our finding, in more recent publications, of definitions hardly matching Ferguson's at all.

The "Glossary" in TRUDGILL (1984) terms diglossia as:

> "A language situation in which two very different varieties of a language are used for complementary functions, a 'high' variety normally used for written and formal purposes and a 'low' variety for ordinary conversation" (575).

A similar definition is to be found in HAMERS-BLANC (1983):

> "Diglossie: situation linguistique relativement stable dans laquelle deux variétés d'une même langue ou deux langues distinctes sont utilisées de façon complémentaire, l'une ayant un statut socioculturel relativement supérieur à l'autre dans la société" (450).

They add moreover:

> "Mais insistons sur le fait que, pour qu'il y ait diglossie au sens strict du terme, il est nécessaire que la répartition des usages de H(aut) et de B(as) soit complémentaire et institutionnalisée" (ib., 239).

Both definitions are quite "generous" in that they allow for many more situations to be labelled diglossic than would be possible in Ferguson's view. This generosity is brought about by the eagerness of many linguists after 1959 to extend Ferguson's definition so as to be able to use a handy concept in many situations originally not meant to be labelled that way (GUMPERZ 1961 and 1971).

One of the important changes in Trudgill's definition is the inclusion of the word "normally" implying that H can occasionally be used in informal situations and L in formal ones.

Yet, so broadening the scope of the definition gives rise to a number of complementary problems, the major one being the question whether the situation described is supposed to occur within the same category of speakers or whether there is some social stratification.

In other words, could it be possible for this kind of diglossia to occur only in the lower classes of the population (cfr. MEEUS 1979), whereas higher classes only display some kind of style shifting in formal vs. informal situations? Although these questions require a complementary micrological treatment, I shall briefly comment on them further on in this paper.

Post-Fergusonian research, moreover, reveals that a diglossic situation may be far less stable than Ferguson apparently thought it was. "Les rapports entre H et B évoluent sous la pression des changements sociaux et des rapports entre les groupes" HAMERS-BLANC (1983, 239) quite correctly observe.

GUMPERZ (1964) is one of the first instances to establish that diglossia is not only to be encountered in multilingual societies with several "official" languages, nor only in societies using a more classical and a more popular variant of the same language, but also in linguistic communities displaying different dialects or functionally determined linguistic variation of any kind.

Fishman, for one, terms diglossia a form of coexistence of two (or more) languages or language varieties, the social class values and class-bound functions of which are complementary (FISHMAN 1967 and 1971). This may have been the reason why BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1982, 33) lists FLANDERS as a diglossic community and why many other Flemish linguists agree with him (WILLEMYNS 1984b). As a matter of fact the definitions listed above allow for a great many applications. Yet other linguists (e.g. HUDSON 1980) are not very happy with these extensions of Ferguson's definition. Since there is no reason to discuss the point of view of both sides once more, I am going to focus on only one aspect which will appear to be very valuable when going into the case study which is to follow.

Fasold suggests that "everyone agrees that H speech is used in formal, public settings and L in informal, private ones" (FASOLD 1984, 52) but he also, quite rightly, points out that diglossic situations must not necessarily remain unchanged:

> "if there is substantial leakage of the H or L varieties into the functions of the opposite variety, this is usually a sign of the incipient breakdown of the diglossic relationship" (ib.).

Since leaky diglossia occurs more often than is usually aknowledged it seems proper to quote Fasold's definition of what he calls:

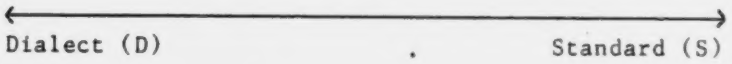
> "BROAD DIGLOSSIA, i.e. the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which

> are learned first with little or no conscious effort) of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate" (FASOLD 1984, 53).

Both leaky and broad diglossia are terms which will appear to be useful when discussing the Flemish situation. But let us first have a closer look at the second concept under consideration, the language continuum. AMMON (1977) states that, in Southern Germany, one is confronted with

> "a gradual transition from the pure dialect on the one side to the pure national language on the other, *with no clear varieties that could be isolated in between*" (63; Italics are mine, RW).

This view is quite common among sociolinguists, and I, for one, used it myself in commenting on code usage in Flanders (Willemyns 1984c). Yet the theoretical concept of the continuum ought to be refined. In the past the continuum has — implicitly or explicitly — mostly been used as a rather rudimentary instrument since it is usually unidimensional in that it only renders one part of reality, viz. the range of codes theoretically available:



This instrument which can be very useful should therefore be refined in many ways. As a pluridimensional device it should be able to reflect the functional load of codes and so doing enable us to describe the competence of (groups of) speakers.

Therefore it will also be necessary to refine the notion of communicative competence (HYMES 1971) and to get rid of the traditional idea of communicative competence mostly describing styleshift within the confines of one code. The recently published reader by Rivera (1984) yields the conclusion that:

> "Although many definitions and descriptions are offered in the papers in this volume, it was not possible to reach a consensus with regard to a working definition of communicative competence" (xiii).

I feel therefore entitled to use the concept of communicative competence in my own way, according to the context in which it is used here. As far as native speakers are concerned one might favour a definition as "the sophistication with which one can switch from one code (or variant) to another according to the circumstances of the linguistic interaction taking place". An elaborate communicative competence of a native speaker then would presuppose that:

a) the speaker is aware of which particular code is appropriate in any particular situation;

b) the speaker masters every code of the theoretical continuum of his language.

This sum of codes available in a community constitutes the totally available linguistic competence and it may be assumed that, the more codes a speaker masters, the easier it will be to cope with any situation, i.e. to switch to the appropriate code in appropriate circumstances. Communicative competence defined in this way now ought to be introduced into the continuum as an instrument, i.e. into the refined, pluridimensional continuum, thus enabling us to combine in some way both the concepts of continuum and diglossia. To achieve this result micro- and macro- level elements should be combined.

I should like to demonstrate this model using information yielded by the Flemish situation.

A bilingual — or diglossic — native speaker, e.g. someone who was socialized in the local dialect and managed afterwards to acquire an excellent knowledge of the standard language, displays some kind of stylistic variation in both codes. In other words, he is able to use both dialect and standard language in formal as well and in informal circumstances, adapting these codes accordingly. This view strongly opposes a view which has recently become more and more popular, that dialect is in fact reserved for informal and standard language for formal communicative interactions.

In our model we can thus discern:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} D_1 & D_2 & S_1 & S_2 \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ dial} \\ +\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ dial} \\ -\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} -\text{ dial} \\ +\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} -\text{ dial} \\ -\text{formal} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

S is here to be understood as a more or less southern standard, i.e., in the words of T'SOU (1980) as a "regional standard".

But we should also take into account the more or less small group, mostly consisting of intellectuals, which also masters the so-called "superposed variety" (Baetens Beardsmore 1983), i.e. the standard language of the entire Dutch language community which, in its southern form, is northernly flavoured in that it is the same standard as used in Holland, minus some highly marked phonological and (mostly) lexical features (WILLEMYNS 1984c).

This code may be labelled Σ and it may be assumed that characteristics of Σ will be:

$$\begin{array}{c} \Sigma \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{ super} \\ +\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

Σ may also be looked upon as the "norm" of the language, i.e. something striven for, yet usually not achieved or performed by the majority of the members of the community (WILLEMYNS 1984a).

A Σ with a [- formal] feature may theoretically be possible but is very unlikely to actually occur in the Flemish situation.

The most elaborate form of communicative competence then should be to actively master all of the five codes mentioned so far. An acceptable and workable communicative competence on the other hand could do without both Σ and D_1. The average bilingual — or diglossic — native speaker probably will display an active knowledge of D_2 and S_1, to which often S_2 may be added.

The native speaker not possessing a workable knowledge of an S-variant will nevertheless display some diglossic variation according to circumstances and will therefore need a specific code to cope with so-called H-settings. I shall label this code "vernacular" (V), likely to have the following characteristics:

$$\begin{array}{c} V_1 \\ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vern.} \\ + \text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

Generally speaking another V should be more common:

$$\begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vern.} \\ - \text{ formal} \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

but V_1 has, of course, a specific function in the population mentioned above.

The overall scale of the linguistic continuum may therefore be represented as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \multicolumn{7}{c}{\longleftarrow\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!-\!\!\!\longrightarrow} \\ D_2 & D_1 & V_2 & V_1 & S_2 & S_1 & \Sigma \end{array}$$

but an individual communicative competence reaching from one pole to the other is rather unlikely to occur.

The slowly increasing group of native speakers having no active command of the local dialect is supposed to have a minimal competence of S_1 and S_2 or V_2 and S_1, but the combination most specific for a large body of Flemmings should comprise D_2, V_1 and S_1 (or Σ).

Non-standard speakers, on the other hand, could be limited (for a small, uneducated and ageing group) to $D_1 + D_2$ or $D_2 + V_1$.

The Flemish community as it exists today should therefore not be regarded as a "linguistic community" in the sense of WEINREICH, LABOV, HERZOG (1968) "sharing an identical set of norms", but rather as a "colingual community", defined by YNGVE (1975) as:

> "characterized by one or more linguistic features or items that serve to define the community and to set it apart from others" (11),

the specific feature then being that several particular portions of the population each covers a particular range of the continuum in a way not occurring elswhere.

Although I am convinced that this may be the most appropriate way to describe the Flemish linguistic situation as a whole, it occurred to me that there is one question I didn't consider then (and which, as a matter of fact, is but seldom if at all considered by others) namely whether this continuum also exists in the minds of the speakers or whether this is "mere analyst's play".

This issue appears to be extremely important since the investigation to be reported reveals that in the region under consideration the respondents usually are quite aware of which code they intend to use and that, in their view, the alternatives are in fact reduced to only two, i.e. [+ dialect] or [- dialect].

Their production of [- dialect] may, from the linguist's point of view, be situated at quite different places on his theoretical continuum, but these considerations are hardly relevant to the language user himself. According to various circumstances such as age, level of education, place of residence, occupation, etc. ... of the speaker, the output may vary from what I termed "transliterated dialect" to "standard Dutch" (WILLEMYNS 1984c, 62-63) and yet his intent remains unchanged, i.e. to use a code which in his view is merely [- dialect].

I don't suggest, of course, that some speakers may not realize that there are various alternatives in rendering a [- dialect] code but simply that they experience a clear gap between [+ dialect] and [- dialect].

For the linguist the only possible conclusion to be drawn from this state of mind of most speakers of Westflemish is that they simply do not experience a continuum. Consequently the linguistic situation involved must be termed diglossic, even according to the most narrow of definitions of diglossia one might imagine.

I intend to prove the probability of this hypothesis by discussing figures drawn from two investigations on reported behaviour.

The case study referred to is based on an investigation carried out at the end of 1983 in the Westflemish towns of Oostende and Diksmuide.

The questionnaire used was a slightly revised version of the one I used for the first time in WILLEMYNS (1979).

In each town 144 respondents were interviewed (n = 288) who can be classified according to the following variables:

sex : 144 male and 144 female respondents

age : 96 young people (15-20 years of age)
96 adults (30-45 years of age)
96 older people (55+)

Education level : 96 L
96 M
96 U

A list of settings or domains (cfr. appendix) was submitted to the respondents who were asked to state which of the following three variants they normally use under the circumstances described:

A : the local dialect
B : an intermediate variant
C : standard Dutch

This classification was also taken from WILLEMYNS (1979) and the investigators tried to explain beforehand the exact difference between the three codes as clearly as possible to the respondents.

The results of the investigation were classified along the age and education variables. Sex had to be ruled out since, contrary to what may be learned from various foreign investigators there seems to be no significant difference at all between male and female informants.

The S.E.S.-variable was restricted to level of education since previous studies have revealed that this is the only relevant and most distinctive aspect of social hierarchy in a Flemish linguistic context (WILLEMYNS 1979), the more so since I was somewhat intrigued by the following remark of Meeus's (1979):

> "For the total population (of Flanders i.e., RW) we should, according to our data, accept the functional differentiation of language behaviour and the existence of diglossia. If, however, we subdivide the population, diglossia becomes very unclear and language behaviour will be functionnally differentiated along different lines ... for the lower educational levels no indication of the existence of diglossia is to be found" (341).

The questions were subdivided, as usual, according to the formality of the situation they refer to:

[- formal] : questions 1 to 7
[± formal] : questions 8, 10 and 12
[+ formal] : questions 9, 11, 13 and 14

A general overview of the outcome (in percentage) is to be found in table 1 which was used as the input to Graph 1.

The first figures to be discussed need neither chart not graph since they are so clear that the facts speak for themselves. I am referring to the dialect mastery of the respondents: 98% of them appear to speak the local dialect, which means that dialect mastery is complete.

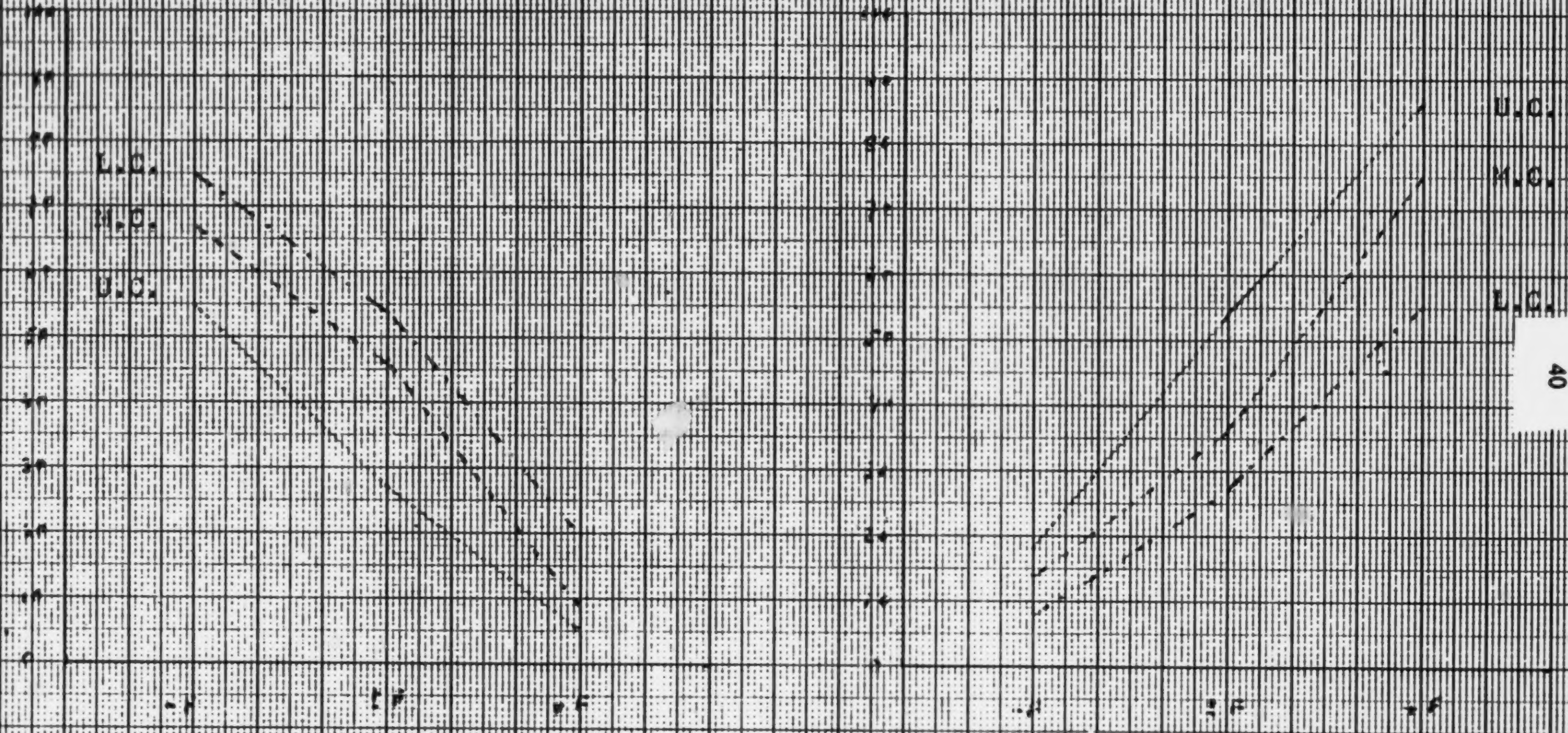
With regard to diglossia this is a very useful and significant piece of evidence, since it proves that the code which is considered to be one of both extreme poles of the continuum is indeed at the disposal of everyone. It will be more difficult and more delicate, however, to find out whether they also have a command of the second one and to eventually indicate what it is like and how, where, when and by whom it is used.

Let us therefore have a look at the exact figures.

Table 1: The use of the different codes (in percentage)

		Overall	Young	Ad.	Older p.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
[- formal]	A	65,5	70,8	62	64	75,2	67	54,1
	B	20,7	14,6	21,6	25,3	16,1	18,7	27,7
	C	13,7	14,5	16,4	10,5	8,7	14,3	18,3
[± formal]	A	42,1	41,6	45,7	38,7	53,9	45,6	26,6
	B	18,9	15,2	19,5	23	19	18,5	19,2
	C	39	43,1	34,6	38,7	27,1	35,9	54,1
[+ formal]	A	11,8	12,8	11	11,5	20,4	9	6
	B	16,2	9,4	13,5	25,3	25,2	15,4	8
	C	71,9	77,8	75,5	63,2	54,5	75,5	86

GRAPH 1



DIALECT USAGE

STANDARD LANGUAGE USAGE

40

As far as the education level is concerned there appears to be quite a discrepancy between the extremes. In [- formal] settings dialect is used by 75,2% of the LC informants. UC informants on the other hand use dialect in only 6% of the [+ formal] situations. We have a still more convincing case when changing the angle: in [+ formal] situations U.C. use standard in 86% of all cases, whereas only 8,7% of the L.C. use standard in [- formal] situations. This means that there is a gap from "almost always" to "almost never". It should be stressed that I am not now comparing the incomparable since my point is that there is a considerable discrepancy between the behaviour of one group in certain circumstances and of a different group in different circumstances. It moreover appears from all data according to the educational level variable that nobody always uses the dialect and that nobody never speaks standard language. At first sight this may seem to be an argument denying the diglossic character of the situation but for the time being I only want to use this outcome to demonstrate that everyone indeed has at least two codes at his disposal and that, therefore, the theoretical conditions for the existence of diglossia are fulfilled.

The figures of chart 1 make abundantly clear that code choice is influenced to a very great extent by the formality of the situation. The overall figures show that dialect usage drops dramatically from 65,5% in [- formal] to 11,8% in [+ formal] situations and that, accordingly, standard language usage in the same settings rises from 13,7% to 71,9%. Figures from separate questions are more striking still:

Chart 2 (question II, 13)

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older P.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	8	8	2	12	17	4	2
B	13	8	7	23	21	12	6
C	79	83	91	65	63	84	92

Chart 3 (question II, 6)

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older P.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	85	88	80	86	94	88	73
B	14	10	18	14	4	10	27
C	1	2	2	0	2	2	0

The standard language figures are most eloquent of all. No use at all is made of this code in the interaction between friends and acquaintances originating from the same region, even among the U.C. The U.C. behaviour remains consistent in the opposite situation as well. In the setting of question (II, 13) 92% use the standard language. Consistency is also apparent as far as M.C. data are concerned. L.C. results on the other hand are slightly surprising since 17% of these respondents use dialect even in formal situations. Obviously this should be accounted for by a lack of communicative competence.

What can these data add to our understanding of the diglossic character and the way the continuum in West-Flanders is organized? My working hypothesis — as I repeat — is that there actually is no continuum in any traditional sense and I should like now to analyse the data so as to see whether this hypothesis can be "proven". The use made of the B-variant is very significant in this respect (VAN DE CRAEN & WILLEMYNS 1983). In the "continuum-theory", B should be characterized in the following two ways:

a) on the one hand, as a variant which, from a linguistic point of view constitutes the transition from one pole (dialect) to the other (standard), in that it combines dialect and standard language features to a varying extent. In other words this is an attempt at standard language, with a great deal of dialect interference.

b) on the other hand, as far as code usage is concerned, B is a code which is (or can be) used in situations too formal for dialect, but too solidarity-linked for the standard.

The B-score of the present inquiry is pretty low, as can be seen from the next chart where the present B-score is compared with the outcome of a previous inquiry among university students in 1979 (WILLEMYNS 1979).

	L.C.		M.C.		U.C.	
	1979	1983	1979	1983	1979	1983
- formal	32	16	38	19	44	28
± formal	36	19	33	19	42	19

In 1979 the results of Westflemish students appeared to be considerably lower than the overall results; as a matter of fact they do match more or less the outcome of the 1983 inquiry. At the time I tried to explain this discrepancy by the notion of "distance":

> "This means that speakers of those dialects which are considered by many (and most often even by these speakers themselves) as considerably diverging from the Dutch standard language (i.e. the dialects of West-Flanders and Limburg) will

> be more inclined to consider their regional Umgangssprache as a dialect, leaving no room for an intermediate variant. This accounts (in both provinces) for a rather substantial dialect usage in [- formal] and an equally substantial standard language usage in [+ formal] domains, as well as for the lowest B-usage of all the provinces" (op. cit. 153-154).

Our present figures confirm this analysis and definitely show, for those regions where the "distance" between dialect and standard language is considerable, a polarization which is incompatible with the idea of a continuum. Our inquiry proves that Westflemings are quite certain what to use in particular situations, i.e. either A or C. The low B-quota are a clear indication that the notion of continuum hardly exists in the minds of Westflemish speakers. Confirmation can be found in the fact that there appears to be a discrepancy between the declared and the actual behaviour of the respondents. It was noted during the inquiry that actually about 44% of the respondents did use the B-code; yet what they declared was considerably lower. This can only be accounted for by the fact that they don't experience a continuum and therefore leave no room for an intermediate variant. They consider their own utterances to be either dialect or standard language, but hardly ever as something in between.

All of the preceding adds to the evidence that our respondents do indeed experience a clear cut gap between dialect and standard language and consequently it is evident that West-Flanders is indeed to be considered a diglossic community.

Yet the stability of the diglossic character in West-Flanders is going to be challenged in the future.

Chart 5 provided us with the answers to the question: "What code do (or would) you prefer to socialize your children in?":

	Overall	Young	Adults	Older p.	L.C.	M.C.	U.C.
A	27,5	36,5	25	21,5	35,5	25	17
B	24,5	15	33	26	23,5	23,5	26,5
C	47,5	48	40	52,5	34,5	50,5	55,5

These figures indicate that less than half the population is opting for the standard language and in the L.C. figures are lower still. Yet an increasing socialization in the standard is bound to change the distribution of function between codes, although it should be borne in mind that even children socialized in some kind of standard language eventually do learn to master the local dialect quite rapidly in some way or another. Yet "leakage of the H or L varieties into the functions of the opposite variety" (Fasold) is bound to increase and a "breakdown of the diglossic relationship" may be expected sooner or later to align West-Flanders, more or less, with the remaining part of the Southern Netherlands.

Going back to the micro and macro analysis as far as languages or codes-in-contact are concerned, it would seem obvious that here too both aspects are complementary.

Our investigation provides us with some answers to Fishman's famous question "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" The answer to "What Language" is provided by the three codes considered: A, B, and C. These are the possible alternatives. To whom they are spoken can also be understood from the data, since we have a list of domains and know exactly who reports to be using which code in which domains. It would seem that both factors belong to the macro level since they provide us with information about the community as a whole. We are indeed not concerned with individuals but with groups, whose linguistic habits are known to us.

The third question "When" may take us down to the micro level analysis since it is concerned with personal decisions and personal attitudes. It is quite obvious, therefore, that answers to this question cannot be extrapolated as such from the figures, since this is indeed a macro level investigation, providing us with an overall view of the situation at a given moment. Similar investigations may be repeated in time and each new one would presumably yield different data, indicating that there is change in progress. To be fully informed about this change it should be necessary to refine our investigation mechanisms to the level of the individual, i.e. to micro level analysis. Hence it appears that both approaches are complementary indeed and should be used together to yield a fully detailed picture not only of how the situation is but also of to what extent it is changing. Our macro investigation only provides us with a snapshot, a frozen moment in what is to be considered a continuously changing situation.

A similar attitude should be adopted when the item "Why" is added to Fishman's question. Why one uses one code rather than another with a particular interlocutor in a particular situation largely depends on factors such as solidarity and power and on one's attitudes towards particular codes. All of this is susceptible of change which takes place on the level of the individual as well and will depend upon his changing position in several networks. Hence micro and macro elements are to be combined here too.

As stated before, the type of investigation used here will mostly provide us with macro answers. A more detailed and more explanatory picture is only possible after micro components have been added.

Theoretically, a complete picture of the contact situation of a region could be drawn by either carrying out a good deal of micro investigations, completed afterwards by a macro investigation, or the other way round. In practice, I presume, one needs the macro information first in order to establish what kinds of micro investigations are necessary and how they may be carried out.

APPENDIX

General information about respondents:

- Residence : Oostende
  : Diksmuide
- Sex : Male
  : Female
- Age : 15-20
  : 30-45
  : 55+

Level of instruction: - primary school
- secondary school
- college or university

Occupation:

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Do you master the local dialect: yes
no

II. Considering the following language varieties:

A : local dialect
B : intermediate variety (between A and C) with dialect interference
C : standard Dutch

then which one of these varieties do you normally use in the following circumstances:

1. Addressing members of your family and household
2. Addressing your parents
3. Addressing your children
4. Addressing your neighbours
5. In local shops or pubs
6. Addressing friends or acquaintances, living in your own region
7. Addressing friends or acquaintances, living in another region
8. Addressing colleagues at your working place or fellow pupils at school
9. Addressing your physician, who is not a personal acquaintance of yours
10. Addressing officials and civil servants — you know personally — at their office
11. Addressing officials and civil servants — you don't know personally — at their office

12. When phoning officials and civil servants you know personally
13. When phoning officials and civil servants you don't know personally
14. When intervening during a public discussion or meeting

III. Which variant do you normally use

a. when being addressed by a stranger using the local dialect
b. when being addressed by a stranger using another dialect
c. when being addressed by a stranger in standard Dutch

IV. Which variant do you or would you prefer to socialize your children in?

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A SURVEY OF DIALECT GRAMMAR IN BRITISH ENGLISH

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Résumé / Abstract

Cette communication présente un projet de recherche financé par l'ESRC (Conseil de la Recherche en Sciences Economiques et Sociales) qui durera trois ans de 1986 à 1989 et sera basé à Birkbeck College. Cette enquête a pour but l'analyse de données sur la grammaire des dialectes de l'anglais, données qui seront recueillies par des enseignants et leurs élèves dans des projets de classe sur le dialecte local. L'information sur la grammaire dialectale est importante pour des raisons descriptives et théoriques. Elle est importante également sur le plan éducatif pour les locuteurs des parlers anglais non-standard, qui forment la plus grande partie de la population. Les membres de l'équipe collaboreront avec des chercheurs d'autres pays européens qui travaillent aussi sur les implications pour l'éducation des différences dialectales.

1. Introduction

This paper will describe a 3-year research project which will begin in January 1986 in the Department of Applied Linguistics at Birkbeck College, financed by the Economic and Social Research Council. The project is still at the planning stage, and we would welcome comments on the methodology or an any other aspect of the research.

The project forms part of a wider research programme which aims to analyse variation in language, particularly syntactic variation. At present there are three strands to the research programme, not all of which are equally well developed. We will briefly discuss each strand in turn, and then give a description of the research project.

2. Theoretical aspects of the analysis of syntactic variation

In order to maintain the analytical precision that has been achieved in the study of phonological variation, it would clearly be desirable for the concept of the linguistic variable to be used at higher levels of analysis. There has been some controversy in the literature concerning the feasibility of this (for example, LABOV 1978; LAVANDERA, 1978; ROMAINE, 1981; WEINER and LABOV, 1983). One purely practical problem in attempting to analyse syntactic variation within a quantitative framework is that, in contrast to phonological variables, syntactic variables are unlikely to occur with sufficient frequency in any given sample of recorded speech. There are other problems, however, of a more theoretical nature, that have not yet been resolved (see CHESHIRE, forthcoming). For progress to be made in these theoretical issues, there is an urgent need for information on the type of linguistic structures that are involved in syntactic variation. Although there has been a considerable amount of research into syntactic variation in spoken French (for example, the work on the vernacular French of Quebec carried out at Laval University, and the work on Montreal French) there has been very little research into syntactic variation in spoken English.

The survey of dialect syntax that will be described below aims to provide some information of this kind for spoken British English. We hope, therefore, that it will provide a starting point for an informed discussion of syntactic variation in British English.

3. Educational implications of the analysis of syntactic variation

There is considerable variation between standard English syntax and the syntax of the nonstandard varieties of British English. Since the British educational system is based entirely on the assumption that both teachers and pupils will use standard English, a number of problems can be anticipated. First, it is possible that linguistic stereotyping will lead teachers to evaluate dialect-speaking children more negatively than their standard English speaking peers (see J. EDWARDS, 1979; V. EDWARDS, 1979). Secondly, a wide range of bad pedagogic practices are likely to result from inadequate information as to the nature of dialect differences, particularly in the teaching of reading and the correction of children's written work (see V. EDWARDS, 1983; CHESHIRE, 1984).

Clearly a major step in avoiding bad pedagogic practice would be for teachers to become more aware of the nature of dialect differences and of their educational implications. As ROSEN and BURGESS (1980) point out: "The onus is here placed firmly on teachers not only to adopt a positive attitude to dialect, but also to make sufficient effort to learn about the features of dialect to avoid confusing children".

The need for teachers to recognise differences between dialect grammar and standard English grammar has also been given considerable emphasis recently in the DES's pamphlet (1984), which attempts to formulate a consistent language policy for schools. For example, one of the objectives listed for 16-year-old pupils is that they should be aware of the differences between standard English grammar and dialect forms, and use standard English when it is appropriate to do so. However, it seems to us that it is both unfair and unrealistic to place the responsibility for remedying the mistreatment of dialect in school with teachers, when there is no information on dialect grammar available for them to consult.

Again, then, progress on this aspect of syntactic variation is seriously hampered by the lack of information that is available.

4. The nature and the distribution of features of British dialect grammar

From what has been said above it should be clear that information on the nature and the geographical distribution of features of British dialect grammar is essential if the educational problems caused by linguistic conflict in school are to be resolved. Since features of nonstandard English very frequently alternate with the corresponding features of standard English in people's speech, information of this kind may also go some way towards resolving the more theoretical problems that are involved in the analysis of syntactic variation. At the very least, it should allow us to point to those areas of the country where future research into syntactic variation could be fruitfully undertaken. A recent report prepared for the ESRC by EDWARDS, TRUDGILL and WELTENS (1984) surveyed some 200 studies dating back to the beginning of this century and abstracted any information about grammar that was presented either directly or indirectly in the studies. By far the greatest part of this information was derived from discussions of phonology or lexis in which grammar plays only a peripheral role, and the report, in stressing the need for further research into syntactic variation in English, mentioned some examples of linguistic phenomena in British English that are as yet poorly understood (such as, for example, the usage of modal verbs, auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries). We intend to use the data that will be obtained from the survey to enable us to locate the precise areas of the country where these linguistic phenomena occur..

The survey is not, then, intended to be simply a data gathering exercise, although the gathering of data will inevitably form a major part of the survey. Some other ways in which the data will be used will be mentioned in Section 5.3. First, however, we will describe the methodology to be used in the survey.

5. Methodology

As mentioned in Section 2, a practical difficulty involved in the analysis of syntactic variation is that if analyses are based on recorded speech, as ideally they would be, it is unlikely that the variables under investigation will occur with sufficient frequency, even if specific attempts are made to elicit them. The methodology that we have devised aims to overcome this difficulty, whilst at the same time serving an educational purpose.

We propose to collect information on dialect grammar by working with teachers and their pupils. Such an approach has a wide range of advantages. There is a growing awareness in British schools (more so in some parts of the country than in others) of the educational potential of linguistic diversity, which includes recognition of working-class children's nonstandard dialects (see ROSEN and BURGESS, 1980; V. EDWARDS, 1983; OPEN UNIVERSITY, 1985). A project which focusses on dialect will therefore be likely to receive a sympathetic reception from a broad cross-section of teachers. Teachers are clearly in contact with young people of all social backgrounds and in all parts of the country. It is thus organisationally feasible to locate large numbers of potential participants who fulfill the various selection criteria which are necessary for the project.

Working with young people of school age does, of course, preclude any study of age stratification of grammar. However, the data that we collect will reflect the current usage of an important proportion of the population and will be a useful counterbalance to the more usual practice of restricting surveys to older informants (see, for instance, ORTON ET AL., 1978). We will supplement information on young people's usage by asking questions about parental and grandparental speech, though obviously this information will need to be treated with caution.

An undertaking of this kind will necessarily be a collaborative effort between teachers and pupils. This approach to learning departs significantly from the traditional mode, but it is by no means novel or unique, and collaborative learning techniques have attracted a considerable following in recent years. We believe that these techniques are important for a project which centres on non-standard language, for two reasons. First, many teachers will not come from the region in question or will themselves be standard English speakers, so that they will need to call upon the expertise of their pupils. Treating pupils as experts is in accordance with the approach adopted by, for example, RALEIGH (1981), in the Language Book, which is a book designed for use in the classroom:

> "Everyone who reads this knows much more about language than can be put in a book. Everyone has managed the amazing job of learning at least one language in so many different ways that even one is a lot. So you're the expert; make sure you tell the others what you know about language and the ways it works".

Secondly, it is essential that discussions of linguistic diversity are handled with care and sensitivity, in order to avoid alienating speakers of nonstandard varieties of English. The material in the ILEA English Centre's (1979) booklet on Dialect and Language Variety, for example, which is designed for use with school children, has been criticised for adopting an 'us' and 'them' approach which does nothing to help those children who have to choose between in-group loyalty and educational participation (see MERCER and MAYBIN, 1981). If dialect is investigated as a joint project, with the pupils seen as the experts, this will not only provide an excellent opportunity for collaborative learning, but will also help to ensure that the topic is treated with the necessary tact and respect.

Finally, collaborative projects are essential for ensuring the reliability of children's responses. Reports of self-usage are notoriously unreliable. We will ask teachers and pupils to discuss the use of the various features as a group, and to respond to questions on community usage rather than on individual usage. We have made preliminary attempts to use this approach with Reading children, where we already have detailed information on local dialect usage and can therefore assess the reliability of pupils' responses. These attempts have been very successful. It would seem that the normative pressures of the group counteract the tendency of individual speakers to deny nonstandard usage (EDWARDS, forthcoming, reviews several studies which appear to have produced reliable results using this approach).

Our intention is to focus on children in the 11-16 age range. Although it has been proposed that sociolinguistic sophistication is seldom fully acquired before adulthood (see LABOV, 1966), it is now understood that even very young children are linguistically aware and are able to discuss linguistic difference in overt terms (see, for example, WILES, 1981; DAY, 1982; ROMAINE, 1984). We would therefore anticipate that young people in this age range would be reliable in their judgements.

5.1 Pilot study

The first stage will be to set up a pilot study, using our existing teacher contacts in four different areas of the country — South Wales, Reading, Peterborough and Manchester. Draft materials will be prepared to be tested by these pilot groups. The materials will include an introductory text, which will provide background information for the teacher, together with suggested topics for class discussion and a checklist of dialect features to be completed by teachers and pupils together. The materials will include requests for information on local sources of written dialects. For instance, there are newspapers in the West Country and in the West Midlands that have a column or cartoon strip in the local dialect. It will be useful to locate this information for the eventual preparation of resource lists for teachers.

During the pilot stage of the project a number of visits will be made to selected teacher groups to discuss the materials and to obtain first-hand information on any problems in their design.

5.2 The main study

Once the results of the main study have been evaluated, teacher contacts will be extended.

Our aim, at present, is to draw on about 400 schools. Although approximately 80% of the population live in cities, we will aim for approximately equal numbers of urban and rural catchment areas, rather than for a representative sample. This will allow us to sample the full range of dialect diversity and also to study questions pertaining to rural-urban interaction. We intend to fill in any gaps in national coverage by contacting schools and HMI's directly.

Each teacher will be asked to work with approximately 25 children. We will require information which will allow us to identify deviant participants, such as those who have moved to the area in recent years, and children whose parents come from different parts of the country or from abroad. We will also ask children to provide their postal codes. In this way we will be able to identify the enumeration district in which they live and to build a social profile for the children in a given school.

5.3 Analysis of the data

Analysis of the data will allow us to chart the distribution of a wide range of grammatical features of British English. We hope to produce a short Atlas of British Dialect Grammar, using the facilities of the Geography Department at Birkbeck College. We hope, too, that once the Survey has been completed we will have obtained a good understanding of the type of material on linguistic diversity that will be of most use as a classroom resource, so that we can begin to provide books and other resource materials that will be suitable for teachers to use with their pupils.

In addition, we expect that the data that we obtain will enable us to identify specific geographical regions where detailed studies of syntactic variation could most usefully be carried out — where, for example, features of particular linguistic interest are most likely to occur. They will, at the very least, allow us to build up a far fuller picture of the dialect grammar of those areas that up to now have received little or no attention. We may well be able to make a useful contribution to the controversial question of dialect levelling. Some writers have claimed that dialect diversity is reducing, and being replaced not simply by standardization but by a development towards a levelled nonstandard dialect. We will also be able to provide some information on the grammatical differences between urban and rural dialects. EDWARDS ET AL. (1984) note that investigations of more socially homogeneous rural and semi-rural areas would redress the current balance of research and might well yield important information on the possible interaction between urban and rural dialects. Although it is unlikely that the Survey will provide sufficient data from rural areas to address these questions directly, it should point to those areas of the country where detailed sociolinguistic analyses of rural-urban interaction could most profitably be pursued.

6. Collaboration with European colleagues

Although there is considerable interest in language awareness programmes in British schools (see STUBBS and HILLIER, 1983), no project similar in scope to this Survey has been undertaken to date in Britain, nor, as far as we are aware, in any English-speaking country. This is in marked contrast with Germany and Holland, where the question of dialect differences and their various educational implications has been examined in considerable detail. As a preliminary to the main stage of the Survey, therefore, we would like to consult colleagues in other countries who have already undertaken research in this area, to exchange information and to establish those elements of their research programmes that would be relevant to our project. Bert WELTENS, at the Katholieke Universiteit in Nijmegen, has already indicated an interest in coordinating a Workshop in the Netherlands to which we would invite colleagues from Belgium, Germany and other European countries. We look forward to an exchange of information and ideas, and in the meantime will be extremely interested to have feedback on the methodology of the Survey or on any aspect of the wider research programme.

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COMMENTS

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CHESHIRE's project to survey British dialect features is felt to be a necessary, though highly ambitious undertaking. Questions arise with respect to the disparity between the long and short term objectives, where the former, which are to raise dialect sensitivity and give teaching guidelines, may well hamper the short-term goals of elicitation. The two are intertwined in the proposed methodology, with advantages and drawbacks. The advantages are the potential large-scale impact but the drawbacks are inherent to the controlled semi-open questionnaires and project discussion elicitation technique. The latter requires sensitivity to differences between dialect, non-standard but widespread usage and informal register characteristics so as to interpret features like phonetic reduction, as in "Give me *me* book", informal pronoun usage, as in "Give *us* a kiss" and non-standard non-dialectal adjective/adverb confusion, as in "They did it really *nice*", all of which may be used by non-dialect speakers. If these issues can be overcome the project should prove to be an important contribution to sociolinguistic research.

DESHAIES' paper on linguistic variation is striking for its illustration of the weaknesses in certain "fashionable" current trends in sociolinguistics, specifically her underlining of the notion of *tension* between individual linguistic behaviour and social interaction, the questioning of the *pertinence* of much quantitative research, the *clarification* of the distinction between variables and statistics and the insistance on the *symbolic* significance of linguistic interaction.

WILLEMYNS provides a new insight into the dialect continuum concept by pointing to the absence of a continuum in the minds of the subjects he investigated and concluding from this that the notion is a conceptual artefact of linguists. His evidence shows that among his population nobody *always* uses dialect and nobody *never* uses standard and that, for his population at least, there is a clear polarisation between dialect and standard which negates the idea of a continuum. This finding might well lead to controversy among sociolinguists.

COMMENTS

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While reading CHESHIRE's proposal for a research programme that aims at investigating syntactic variation in the British Isles one gets the uneasy feeling that, since this work claims to be sociolinguistic in nature, a number of sociolinguistic issues are disregarded. It is very disappointing to read that one of the aims of the investigation is to get a deeper insight into the theoretical issues involved in the analysis of syntactic variation. From a social linguistic viewpoint syntactic variation should be placed against the background of the way variation is used in the interaction process under study, in this case the classroom. Such an approach would be able to provide answers to questions such as "how is syntactic variation related to interaction processes?" and "what kind of variation is (ir)relevant with respect to the way teachers treat pupils and vice versa?" However, since this does not seem to be the primary goal of the study this criticism is perhaps unwarranted. But even when the research programme is pursued, as is outlined here, I would be very cautious with respect to the results since they are based on the reported use of speech instead of on its actual use. It is well known that there is always a big difference between the language one says one uses and the language one actually uses. Moreover, using teachers as informants may be very hazardous since my experience in Flanders is that sometimes teachers are not even aware of the language features of their own dialect. The only features they are able to recognize are those that are either stigmatized, or different from their own speech. If teachers are to be used as informants they should undergo some kind of training. Unless it has been shown that English teachers' observational qualities are beyond any doubt, the results will be highly unreliable.

Another rather unfortunate aspect of the research programme is that no didactic purposes are mentioned. Even if the researchers are only interested in syntactic theory the questionnaire will not pass unnoticed by the children. In Flanders very often pupils have to be pushed to speak dialect "publicly" no matter whether they use it or not among their peers all the time. If this project were carried out in Flanders or in France it would take some time before pupils would react spontaneously and naturally. I wonder if British classrooms are that much different. If dialect is introduced "publicly" or "officially" in the classroom the observations to be made by far outnumber the interest in "syntactic theory" and it is a pity that this project does not seem to be aware of this.

What is very interesting on the other hand is the idea of collaboration between countries with related problems. This collaboration may even open an entirely new field, namely "comparative sociodialectology" and its development looks like an interesting challenge for the future.

DESHAIES raises a number of important issues with respect to linguistic variation and social organization. She quite rightly insists on the dialectics of the interaction process as reflected in the uses of language and in societal organization. I would like to add a few comments on the relationship between micrological and macrological structures and its implication for sociolinguistic theory.

Along with Deshaies and others, I think the focus of attention as far as sociolinguistic research is concerned, should lie in the micrological analysis of interaction processes. The interest in small-scale research can undoubtedly be explained as a reaction against methods favouring so-called "grand theories" and elaborate statistical techniques with reference to concepts such as "social class", "ethnic groups", etc. However, the study of small-scale processes does not necessarily imply a lack of interest in macrological factors, as is often suggested. If it did, sociolinguists would make the same kind of mistake as the advocaters of the "grand theory" just mentioned. Any interaction process is deeply submerged in the value systems imposed by society. Consequently, a great deal of interplay is going on between more or less "stable", static societal factors and more or less "loose", dynamic, individual factors. The study of this interplay will eventually lead to deeper insights into the mechanisms of societal evolution in general and sociolinguistics in particular.

I am convinced that the intricate, and still largely unknown relationships between small- and large-scale processes will contribute considerably to the development of sociolinguistic theory. With reference to this latter aspect Deshaies makes two interesting suggestions with which, at least partly, I agree. She approvingly quotes Halliday that meaning is not to be found in the vowels but in the values and, second, she gives the sound advice that researchers should start listening to their informants. With respect to the first remark I would like to comment that neither the study of vowels nor that of values is meaningful with respect to sociolinguistics if the research programme is not deliberately placed against a social background. As for the second remark I would like to add that listening is of course not enough. It should be accompanied by a correct interpretation process for how else should meaning be discovered? The most important implication Deshaies has made refers to the latter remark: doing and thinking about sociolinguistics is an hermeneutic activity not devoid of values but submerged in them.

WILLEMYNS' study illustrated the complementary aspects of micro- and macrological sociolinguistic research. As I have stated in my own contribution I do not think that insisting on the complementary relationship of micro- and macro-elements is in itself enough. What we need is some kind of deeper insight in the mechanisms governing the interplay between these two approaches. Why is it, for instance, that in some societies people's educational level has more impact than in others on the evolution of language and what (socio)linguistic mechanisms lie underneath the choice of a particular language variant? Willemyns' suggestion that micro-research should be complemented by macro-research has a far reaching impact on sociolinguistic methodology. The remark implies that the various pleas for micrological research that have been held in the past should now be considered obsolete. Whereas ten or fifteen years ago many social scientists thought that salvation would automatically come if enough micrological research were carried out, it now seems that opinions have shifted. Social reality can at best be studied by taking into account both micro and macro-factors. After all this should not come as a surprise. It is indeed very unlikely that something as complex as social linguistic behaviour could be studied by the use of one method only. I think we should welcome any idea which tries to integrate various approaches in order to get a better grasp on complex social phenomena. In this respect the evolution of terminology is quite remarkable. Consider for instance the word diglossia. Nowadays few scholars doubt that it is a dynamic, perhaps even an unstable, situation in certain circumstances. Hence of course the need to broaden the concept and introduce concepts such as broad or leaky, macro or micro-diglossia.

What should be one of the next steps to be undertaken is to look at the way these and other terms coincide with the language users' awareness of language situations. Attitudes, awareness and language change should be studied together from both macro- and micrological standpoints.

SECTION II

Le rôle des réseaux sociaux dans l'usage des langues et dialectes dans un contexte multilingue.

The role of social networks in the use of languages and dialects in multilingual contexts.

THE RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS IN THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION OF MULTILINGUAL BEHAVIOR

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Résumé / Abstract

Dans le présent article nous donnons d'abord une synthèse des fondements psychologiques qui permettent d'élaborer une approche socio-psychologique du comportement langagier en situation de contact des langues. Notre approche tente de faire le lien entre les variables individuelles et les variables socio-structurales en supposant notamment que l'individu a accès à la structure sociétale par le biais des réseaux sociaux; certaines caractéristiques de ceux-ci, notamment l'homogénéité linguistique, la qualité, la fréquence, la densité et la multiplexité sont des déterminants importants du comportement langagier multilingue. Actuellement nous vérifions certaines hypothèses concernant la relation entre les caractéristiques de réseaux et les types de développement bilingue.

The aim of the present paper is to argue that the social network around the individual is an important intervening variable in explaining the relationship found between macrological social variables such as social class and individual variables relevant to language behavior in a multilingual setting. Whereas there is an ever growing body of evidence assessing the link between certain social and community dimensions and specific behavior, most of this data is of a purely correlational nature (HAMERS & BLANC, 1983; HAMERS & BLANC, 1984) and very little effort has been made so far to explore the process by which societal and individual variables influence each other and the individual's behavior (TABOURET-KELLER, 1983).

1. A general psychological framework

Without denying the fact that individuals will in the long run shape the society in which they live and that individual variables can thus be viewed as causal to societal outcomes, our level of analysis insists rather on the causal relationship whereby societal variables will shape individual outcomes. Without taking an extreme behavioristic approach, we rather go along with BANDURA's views (1976) on social learning; that is, there is a reciprocal determinism between individual, environment and behavior which will all be interactive with each other: in certain cases behavior will be mainly influenced by environmental factors, whereas in others individual factors will determine behavior; behavior in turn will be of importance in shaping the self-regulating mechanism and the construction of the internal determinants relevant to the individual's future behavior. Social learning in humans — and this includes the acquisition of language behavior — is characterized by its self-regulating capacity; a human individual is capable of controlling his own behavior through his capacity for rearranging the received environmental stimulation thanks to the development of its own cognitive support. These self-regulating functions are created and maintained by external influences; once established they will however determine the individual's behavior. In this sense human nature is thus viewed as a vast potential which can be shaped into structure through various learning mechanisms and experiences (including S-R learning, S-S learning, perceptual and vicarious learning, etc.) and the human being will behave as an active information-processor.

In this general framework HAMERS & BLANC (1982), proposed a model of bilingual development whereby they argued that the type of bilinguality and the self-regulating mechanisms a child would develop is the outcome of the internalization of environmental language behavior including linguistic functional models, attributed relative status of both languages and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality. This internalization, which plays a major role in establishing the self-regulating processes crucial to language behavior is viewed as an active psychological process whereby the child reorganizes the social values associated with the language behavior prevalent in his community in terms of his own experience. The present discussion puts forward the argument that the child does not become directly cognizant of the societal values: when he considers some of them as part of his own endowment, he will do so through the mediation of the inter-personal relations in his own immediate social environment. In other words, certain characteristics of the child's social network and the language behavior associated with them will be of the uttermost importance in shaping the child's linguistic development, its social psychological and cognitive support and the subsequent language behavior.

Before discussing further the relevance of social networks as an important intervening variable for language behavior in a multilingual setting, a few more theoretical issues have to be raised, namely concerning the nature of language behavior and social representation. Language behavior which includes the linguistic behavior of the individual and its psychological correlates such as cognitive, affective and social-psychological ones, is essentially viewed as social behavior and has therefore to be considered part of the child's social cognitive endowment. By this, I mean that behavior is subsequent to an interaction between the individual and animate or social objects. As FORGAS (1981) points out, in the past decades psychology as a discipline has undergone a general shift of interest from observable behavior to internal processes as explanatory concepts, from behaviorism to cognitivism. Cognition is no longer viewed as limited to information processing, storage and retrieval but includes all processes involved in knowing (HILGARD, 1980). In this sense it can be argued that all human cognition is profoundly social; knowledge is socially structured and transmitted, influenced by the values and norms of the social environment and ideas are created at the social as well as at the individual level (FORGAS, 1981). Social cognition, however, is not merely a product of intra-individual cognitive processes albeit influenced by social environment; it results from the interaction between cognitive process, affective processes, motivations, values, collective cognition, etc.; it involves processes which are uniquely social in character as well as processes which are individual. It is knowledge about how to act socially.

Ever since the development of the attribution theory (e.g. HEIDER, [1958]; JASPERS & HEWSTONE [1982]), social psychology has focused on the relevance of social perception and social cognition; social perception and cognition opposed to physical perception and cognition include social cognitive tasks such as causal judgment whereby the personal or situational causes of action or outcome are attributed and social inferences are made about the attributes of the relevant entities including traits, abilities and intent of the actors and the constraints of the situation (ROSS, 1981).

According to recent views in child language development (e.g. WELLS, 1981), language is acquired in the first place as a mean of interacting with those "significant others" who are the most involved in the child's life; for example, HALLIDAY (1975) points out that the acquisition of early meaning depends as much on the dynamics of interpersonal interaction as on the articulation of a complex linguistic structure. This approach also emphasizes the fact that the construction of social meaning is an interactive process that begins at birth (e.g. HALLIDAY, 1978, TREVARTHEN, 1978). During the first year of his life the child learns a lot about the reciprocity relations in social interactions and about social routines (BRUNER, 1975; NELSON, 1981); on this basis he will develop conversational models in partnership with his parents (SNOW, 1977), patterns of social play and dialogue with peers. NELSON (1981), for example, insists on the fact that the child acquires social knowledge in the form of a script. According to her, a script is an ordered sequence of actions appropriate to a particular spatial-temporal context, organized around a goal; the social script specifies roles and props and defines obligatory and optional actions. The essentials of social script learning which develops through observation and active participation are acquired at the same time as language develops. Language thus acquired as a code for elaborating social scripts is a part of the child's social endowment that will develop from his early interactions with others. The relative importance attributed to language by those individuals with whom he interacts will shape the building of the social psychological and cognitive mechanisms which the child will use in self-regulating his future language behavior as for example his social/cultural identity (for theorizing on social identity, see for example TAJFEL & TURNER, 1979). When two or more languages are in contact in the child's immediate social environment, the existing relations between the two languages will also be part of the child's social endowment and play an important role in the construction of the child's psychological mechanisms (for more details, see HAMERS & BLANC, 1982; 1983), and the social representation the child will develop.

The concept of social representation, used by the sociologist DURKHEIM (1898) in the past century was re-introduced in present day social psychology by MOSCOVICI (1982). It refers to the knowledge the individual has about various aspects of social reality; this knowledge is shared by many members of a society but is apprehended at the individual level. As a construct it is similar to and includes the notions of social attitudes and stereotypes which are viewed as reflections of the social world in the individual (TAJFEL, 1981). Because of its collective character social representation cannot account for individual differences but only for group differences (MOSCOVICI, 1981). In the case of a multilingual setting, language attitudes will play an important role; they will not only reflect intergroup relations, but will also mediate and determine them (GILES & RYAN, 1982; GILES, HEWSTONE & BALL, 1983); furthermore, social representation will play a key role in constructing the cognitive mechanisms relevant to language behavior. Social representation is a relevant concept in the sense that it explains how sociological structures have psychological reality.

Taken together these three psychological mainstreams, namely the theories of social learning and social cognition, the social cognitive approach to language development and the social-psychological models of causal attribution and social representation, when considered in the context of multilingual settings, are powerful enough to explain the varieties and complexities of language development and behavior and to allow for any intergroup differences that can be observed. However, whereas these different levels of psychological analysis are complementary to each other and all insist on the relevance of the social structure in explaining individual behavior, they do not propose any explanation as to how the individual will become cognizant of social structures.

2. The relevance of macro-sociological variables in bilingual behavior

During the last decades an impressive body of empirical evidence shows a definite link between macro-sociological variables such as social class or minority status and the individual outcome of bilingual experience during childhood.

In short, the following picture emerges: whenever an individual is a member of a social/cultural minority group, bilingual experience in early childhood, mostly promoted through a home/school switch with formal education occurring in the socially dominant language, is likely to have negative consequences for the child's cognitive, affective and linguistic development. On the other hand, whenever the child is a member of a socio-culturally dominant group, the bilingual experience which will occur because both languages are valorized in the child's environment, far from having negative consequences, can have beneficial effects on the child's development. This correlational evidence has prompted LAMBERT (1974) to put forward a first theoretical approach in which he makes the distinction between an additive and a subtractive form of bilingualism. In the former case the setting is such that the child will add a second language to its linguistic repertoire and use it as an additional tool for thought and communication, thus having an enrichment experience as compared to the monolingual child; in the latter case the second language, more prestigious in society, will tend to replace the mother-tongue thereby damaging the child's development. In a recent publication CUMMINS (1984), analyzing several approaches to bilingual education, points out that whereas bilingual education for the majority child such as found in immersion programs and international schools is primarily conceived and described as an enrichment program, bilingual education for minority children aims more often than not at assimilation and at the disappearance of the minority language, i.e. the child's mother-tongue.

3. The link between societal and individual factors

Whereas the recent studies on bilingual education have the merit of pointing out that sociopolitical rather than individual factors are in the first place responsible for the developmental outcomes of bilingual education (CUMMINS, 1984), it remains for us to explain how the socio-political context in which bilinguality develops can impinge on the individual.

If we summarize the present state of knowledge with regard to multilingual behavior in developmental and social psychology we can conclude that some sound theoretical constructs have been and are still being developed in the framework of a psychological approach. The theoretical approaches, as well as the empirical evidence which supports them, all point to the relevance of the interaction between socio-structural features and social-psychological processes. However, these explanations remain psychological to the extent that they acknowledge a correlation between individual behavior and social structure but do not seek an explanation in sociological theorizing. In this sense ST. CLAIR (1980; 1982) argues that empirical findings concerning the psychology of bilingualism and interethnic contacts should be placed in the larger context of the dynamics of socio-political and socio-historical factors.

One attempt to explain how the social representation in a multicultural setting comes into existence has been made by GILES, BOURHIS & TAILOR (1977) who developed the notion of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality. The authors argue that the group's perception of the level of its own ethnolinguistic vitality (as assessed by three major groups of socio-structural variables, namely status, demography and institutional support) will be a decisive factor for ethnolinguistic group identification and for the choice of language strategies in multilingual encounters. However, LABRIE (1983) failed to find a relation between perceived ethnolinguistic vitality and attitudes towards the second language in a linguistic minority community. One has to comment that when GILES and his colleagues tend to measure the perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (see BOURHIS, GILES & ROSENTHAL, 1981), they limit their approach to cognitive aspects of macrosociological factors.

Actually, sociological approaches to multilingual settings claim that a micro-sociological level of analysis is required in explaining language behavior. For example, BREITBORDE in a special issue of the International Journal of the Sociology of Language (1983), insists on the fact that the social system and its structure plays a crucial role in interpersonal interactions and in the use of languages in them, with special reference to code-switching; he points out that the relationship between the social structure and the individual action cannot be understood without reference to a mediating micro-sociological construct. In the same vein, GAL (1983) argues that too little attention has been paid to bridging the gap between abstract notions of social structure and details of the interaction.

In this sense social network analysis is a promising approach in understanding how individuals become cognizant of the information concerning the social structures. It might also be explanatory of the fact that in a subtractive setting some individuals end up being additive bilinguals (LANDRY, in PRUJINER & AL., 1984) or that in an additive environment some individuals do not benefit from their bilingual experience.

4. Social network and psychological analysis

The notion of social network analysis has been put forward by the anthropologist BARNES (1966) and used by sociolinguists such as BLOM and GUMPERZ (1972) because personal associations were clearly linked with bilingual code-switching. A social network is defined by individuals and the interactions between them; it has neither limits, nor marked internal boundaries; each individual can be viewed as the focal point of a constellation of friends, relatives, neighbours and so on. Most of the research on social network (e.g. BOISSEVAIN & MITCHELL, 1973; HOLLAND & LEINHARDT, 1973; ROGERS & KINCAID, 1981) addressed themselves to the existing relations between individuals in a small closed community, group or neighbourhood. From these studies it is apparent that certain characteristics of the network such as density, multiplexity, homogeneity, frequency, quality and length of contacts, are predictive of behavior. The correlation between interpersonal relations in the social environment and language variation has been assessed in a number of sociolinguistic studies (e.g. BLOM & GUMPERZ, 1972; LABOV, 1978, GAL, 1979). MILROY (1980), analyzing language variation in three neighbourhoods of Belfast, found a positive relation between the use of the vernacular and the density and multiplexity of the social network. Social networks are important because they generate social status and thus confer on the individual a place in the social structure (BREITBORDE, 1983). While having the merit of refining the social analysis, considered as relevant for language behavior and for explaining how an individual fits in a social structure, these studies tend however to overlook the role played by individual variables in language behavior.

In an attempt to reconcile the sociological and the psychological approaches to multilingual behavior, a group of us (PRUJINER & AL., 1984) proposed an integrative multidisciplinary approach. This approach calling on the notion of social network as the key concept to explain how social structure is apprehended by the individual, was innovative in the sense that social networks were analyzed as focalized on the individual and perceived by him and that for the first time equally refined sociological and psychological analysis of multilingual behavior were brought together.

From a number of pilot studies (HAMERS, DESHAIES & LABRIE, 1984; DESHAIES, HAMERS & LABRIE, 1984) designed to test the developed methodology, it appears that in a multilingual setting some definite if complex patterns of relations between networks and relevant psychological processes emerge: for example, in the adolescent study, quality of network relations prevails over other characteristics of the family network, whereas in the peer group density and multiplexity of the network become more dominant. Certain psychological characteristics of bilinguals are also related to network organizing: confidence in mother-tongue use appears as a function of the quality of the relation with the father whereas confidence in the second language is a function of both the quality of parental links and of the characteristics of 2nd language peer network. Moreover structural characteristics of networks are relevant in those groups where frequency of contacts are relatively low, whereas affective characteristics (such a quality and importance of contact) are better predictors of language behavior when contacts are frequent as with parents and siblings.

In my present research I am attempting to analyse how different forms of bilinguality evolve in different multilingual network experiences and how a number of psychological processes relevant to bilingual functioning relate to the child's micro-social environment (for details, see HAMERS, 1985). ARNBERG (1984) points out that children will not reach a balanced bilinguality if one of the parents is the only speaker of one of the languages in the child's network but that peer-interaction in play groups will promote a native-like command of the child's weaker language. To what extent has a minority language to be used around and with a child to promote an additive form of bilingualism? The psychological processes of bilingual behavior might be better understood if we can link them to the sociological dynamics existing in a multilingual setting.

By viewing the individual processes in the light of a sociological construct which is no longer static but which attempts to explain how individuals end up in social structure and by calling on a sociolinguistic description which incorporates the status-oriented as well as the solidarity-oriented functions of language (MILROY, 1982), we might be in a better position to explain group differences as well as individual differences in multilingual behavior. By investigating the link between social networks and social representation we might be able to answer the question "How does one become cognizant of the social structure and its link with language behavior?" Social network investigation might be the way to bridge the gap between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic analyses of multilingual behavior.

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NETWORKS, LANGUAGE VARIATION AND THE RELEVANCE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH[1]

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Résumé / Abstract

Cette communication examine de façon critique le concept de réseau social en tant qu'outil d'analyse des variations langagières et comme moyen d'approfondir notre compréhension des mécanismes sociolinguistiques. Dans une première partie la sociolinguistique est critiquée pour avoir failli à sa tâche, qui est d'expliquer les relations de la structure linguistique avec la structure sociale. La seconde partie décrit un projet de recherche à petite échelle qui met en rapport un certain nombre de variables sociolinguistiques avec des variables indépendantes telles que le sexe, l'âge, les catégories socioprofessionnelles, l'histoire langagière et les réseaux sociaux. Dans une troisième partie le caractère non-prédictif des rapports entre la structure linguistique et la structure sociale est imputé à l'interaction entre les règles constitutives et les règles régulatrices. La conclusion discute les implications de ces deux concepts empruntés à SEARLE pour la théorie sociolinguistique.

> *"If social science is the answer, what is the question?"*
> (GARFINKEL 1981: vii).

0. Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to look at the network concept from the view point of language variation. In so doing it is hoped to get a deeper insight into the actual importance of networks in speech communities and, consequently, to get a more thorough understanding of a sociolinguistic concept which in recent years has drawn a considerable amount of attention. Moreover, it is hoped that this insight will enable us to enlarge our general views of sociolinguistic research. The latter seems necessary since sociolinguistics has been submitted to a number of critical appraisals recently (see e.g. DITTMAR, 1983; ROMAINE, 1984; MUYSKEN, 1984), which in one case went as far as questioning the relevance of sociolinguistics altogether (cf. MUYSKEN, 1984). In the light of this evolution and the specific character of the research which will be presented here, it seemed reasonable to provide some contribution to the wider debate, the more so, since many critical remarks bear on methodological aspects, and the study of networks cannot be carried out without reference to methodology. In the first part the relevance of sociolinguistic research will be discussed. Then some aspects of micrological research will be highlighted. Third, there will be a report on research carried out in four communities in Flanders. Its findings will be interpreted in the light of the standardization process of Dutch and in the more general light of the relevance of the network concept.

1. The relevance of Sociolinguistic Research

Most of the critical appraisal sociolinguistics has been subject to has dealt with aspects of variation, which is a relatively new term for linguistics. Considering the evolution of linguistics the least one can say about variation is that it has not been a popular theme throughout the history of the field. This can be explained partly because its importance has been denied, partly because the facts themselves were poorly understood and partly because of the lack of methodological tools to study it. These problems are not only confined to linguistics, however, but extend to all social sciences. For sociolinguistics, of course, the study of variation is one of the most intriguing phenomena and at the same time one of the most difficult to deal with.

Recently an overview appraising twenty years of sociolinguistic research has been published by MUYSKEN (1984) in Dutch. Since many points he raises concern the theme of this conference his ideas are summarized below. For MUYSKEN "the status of sociolinguistics at this moment is by no means self-evident" (MUYSKEN 1984: 259)[2], because, as his major argument goes, an elaborated theory of sociolinguistics is still non-existent and, as far as he is concerned, neither will nor can be developed. To him this is the cause of a stagnation which has led to what he calls an "escape from sociolinguistics". This escape, and the inability to construct an elaborate theory, is further provoked by the fact that contact between language structure and social structure is, according to him, superficial in that it only touches on the outer layers of both systems. With the latter statement MUYSKEN has questioned the entire research area of sociolinguistics since a vision of a science dispersing itself into other research fields is presented. In Figure 1 an attempt is made to illustrate the escape from sociolinguistics according to MUYSKEN.

Area of research	Attention previously went to:	now escaped into the research of:
code-switching and code-mixing	socio-stylistics	syntax and psycholinguistics
natural second language learning in adults	social relationships	universal cognitive factors
interaction analysis	social role of interactors	universal aspects of textual coherence, general pragmatic principles
variation	social relationships	statistical procedures
pronunciation differences	social relationships	speech production research
spoken language	social conditioning	interaction of structural options of the system

Figure 1: The "escape" from sociolinguistics of six research areas according to MUYSKEN (1984).

Let us consider in more detail the study of variation which is claimed to have abandoned the study of social relationships in favour of an increasing attention to "formal possibilities at presenting variation" and to "statistical prodecures to track down variation" (MUYSKEN 1984: 266). He refers to SANKOFF's collection Linguistic Variation (1978) to illustrate his point but he might also have referred to LABOV's collection Locating Language in Time and Space (1980b), since both publications pertain to the same subject field with approximatively the same methodology in mind. While it is true that the vast majority of contributions in these volumes indeed mention sophisticated statistical techniques and while I would like to join those who warn against the absolute relevance of statistical procedures, this does not necessarily mean that the use of statistical procedures implies that it is the sole focus of attention. In both volumes statistics is used as a help in the study of variation within social contexts. It is far from clear how in this example one can speak of an escape from sociolinguistics. It would be fairer to say that a deepening has taken place trying to determine in a more detailed way the intricate relationship between language and social phenomena. MUYSKEN has treated this research area in a far too simplified way and the same could be said for the other fields he distinguishes.

But let us for the moment give MUYSKEN the benefit of the doubt and suppose that his general arguments are right. This would mean that either sociolinguistics is dispersing into sub-fields, or that attention to social aspects of language use is decreasing because this study is more and more considered as irrelevant and, at best, can only produce superficial results. This would explain a renewed interest into formalizing and universalizing factors. Even if this were true we must notice that sociolinguistics did not pass unnoticed. It is thanks to such sociolinguistic key terms as code-switching and code-mixing that a non-empirical, normative theory like transformational grammar (see VAN DE CRAEN, to appear) could be enriched (cf. WOOLFORD,1983). It is thanks to sociolinguistic research into aspects of language variation that new branches of science, such as sociophonetics and the study of sociocognitive factors, could develop. It is thanks to sociolinguistics that the idea of universal pragmatics has been put forward. In other words, if indeed sociolinguistics should disperse into a number of subdisciplines it is clear that it has influenced all these disciplines and in most cases has given them a new impetus.

Let us now suppose MUYSKEN is wrong. This would mean that his central idea, namely, the fact that a penetrating sociolinguistic theory is impossible because of the superficial relationship between language structure and social structure, is fundamentally wrong. At this point I would like to add that this does not mean that in some ways the development of sociolinguistics has not given cause to an attitude such as MUYSKEN is advocating. Indeed, there are many bad things to say about the poor theorizing of sociolinguistics. This is even illustrated by MUYSKEN's argumentation itself. Consider, for instance the way in which one of his arguments is formulated: language structure and social structure are related only in the outer layers. What is meant by these terms? Let us refer to Figure 2.

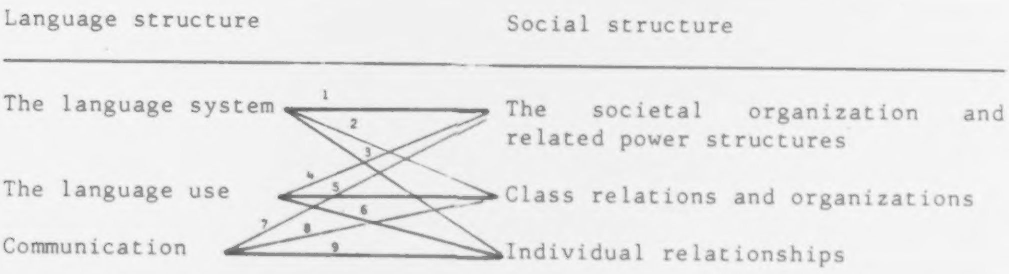

Figure 2: Possible definitions of the terms of language structure and social structure

On the left hand side are some current definitions of what can be meant by language structure while on the right hand side the same is done for social structure. In checking which cross rerefences can justify empirically founded statements only the third term on each side seems to be relevant (9 see figure 2). The other possibilities either bear no relation to each other or they are formulated too openly. For instance, what are we supposed to imagine as the relation between the language system and societal forms of organization (1), or between the former and individual relationships (3)? The relationship between language use and social class (5) is only promising in so far as by social class is meant the fact of belonging to a certain class and not class organization which is absolutely arbitrary and bears no relevance whatsoever to language phenomena in the sense that neither one of them can explain the other. Nevertheless, for a long time, definitions of sociolinguistics have claimed to study language in relation to society (cf. HUDSON, 1980) without considering the implications and the complexity of the key terms used in this definition. In this respect MUYSKEN's ideas only reflect the looseness of some sociolinguistic ideas. No wonder frustration creeps in and belief in the power of the paradigm gets lost.

A completely different picture arises if we take the study of communication between individual members of a society as the starting-point for theorizing and research. Then it becomes clear that it is not just the outer layer of human development that is touched, but the very nucleus, since the way in which people communicate is, among other things, a determining and moulding factor of individual development at different levels. Consider the following words by TEN HOUTEN (1982).

> "(T)he modes of thought now known to be associated with lateralization of function in the human brain, as well as the notions of cognitive style and dialectical thought, are influenced by positions and practices in the social world. The most central theme that can be detected in such diffuse sociological theorizing, as well as in studies of cognitive syle is, that *the structure of social dominance influences the development of thought and contributes to its structure*" (50, my italics).

The above insight which is now beginning to be shared by scholars from various disciplines, referring to people with such diverse backgrounds as G.H. MEAD, SAPIR, SULLIVAN, BÜHLER, etc., strongly suggests that the study of the relation between language and society is much more complicated than previous sociolinguistic hypotheses thought. This interactional approach, which, by the way, runs through this century like a continuous thread — though never quite popular — predicts the importance of interaction as a moulding tool for the individual, hence doing away with a number of all too simply formulated statements. Towards the idea that the relation between language structure and social structure only involves the outer layers of the system a two-folded reaction should be adopted. If it suggests that sociolinguistic research has not been able to touch more than just the outer layer of the relationship between the two systems we can partly agree, but if this statement is meant in an absolute way it ignores the far-reaching and moulding role of communication and interaction processes and is, therefore, wrong.

Let us now turn to the problems involved with the interactional approach as I will call it. Empirical research within this approach has seriously been hampered by a number of seemingly contradictory factors involving the relationship between micro- and macrological elements. While it could be demonstrated easily enough that individual social meaning, for instance, comes about in small interaction patterns, starting as it were right after birth, it was far more difficult to see how societal meaning or social order came about: "social order is produced in a microcosm of daily interactions in different situations and (more or less) institutionalized contexts. Verbal interactions and social order are produced in a mutual (reciprocal) process" (DITTMAR, 1983: 248). Yet, given this microcosm where does macrological social order stem from or in ethnomethodological terms "given indexicality, how is social order possible?" (EGLIN 1980: 40, also cited in DITTMAR, 1983). One might wonder even more about this considering variation phenomena, since this causes the microcosm to adopt a nearly kaleidoscopic look. We are thus left with a sociological or sociolinguistic paradox, as DITTMAR (1983) states,

> "the constitutional processes of social order can only be revealed by scrutinizing in depth daily social interactions on the micro level using the documentary method of recipient design; however, they can only be understood by taking into account the broader underlying macrostructure of societal values, norms, and ideologies that have their materialistic and historical source in the socio-political actions of human beings and are unavoidable presuppositions and preconceived knowledge of any contextual interpretation" (250).

I do not think, however, that we are making a major leap forward by stating that micro and macrological aspects are complementary as FISHMAN (1972) and DITTMAR (1983) do, since we still do not know then what the exact relationship is between the two. In the last part of this contribution I will add some new material to this problem while discussing some of the results of a research project studying variation in various networks in four Flemish communities. Let me now temporarily skip the discussion on variation and for the time being settle for the following. The relevance of sociolinguistic research is to be found in the fact that the study of the relation between communicative or interaction phenomena and social behaviour offers an insight into the moulding influence of these processes on individuals and to some extent into larger communities or societies.

2. Sociolinguistics and Ethnography

2.0 Introduction

The problem of empirical testing of large scale theories and the sometimes meagre results coming out of such experiences has for some been a cause to reflect on research techniques. Small scale or micrological research by means of ethnographic techniques became the answer. The underlying idea is that ethnographic techniques will provide a much more penetrating — though less general — picture of (language) behaviour. In this section the partial results of a research project on some phonic aspects of Dutch as it is spoken in Flanders will be presented applying ethnographic techniques and the network concept. Following MILROY (1980) we were curious to see in what way networks would interfere in the variation of phonic aspects as well as to verify the influence of other independent variables, such as age, sex, style, SES and the linguistic background of the network members.

2.1 The network structures

Research as described above presupposes the gathering of information by means of, among other things, participant observation (cf. SAVILLE-TROIKE, 1982; HAMMERSLEY & ATKINSON, 1983). This means that the researcher depends to a large extent on his own ability to keep meaningful interaction going. Consequently, and perhaps paradoxically, some interactive patterns are impossible because close interaction which is the result of the participant observation technique, only allows for certain kinds of communication. On the other hand, one gets access to people in a way traditional research could only dream of. Let me give an example.

In most parts of Flanders where the research was carried out dialect is spoken in a variety of ways, perhaps with the exception of the area surrounding Brussels. While in some communities the problem is one of gaining access to the vernacular, in Flanders the problem is reversed especially when use is made of participant observation. Gaining access to the standard or formal language is hampered by this technique since close interaction means informal speech and it is just impossible to switch to formal speech without destroying the carefully built friendly relationships.

We have infiltrated four communities respectively in Elewijt, a village between Brussels and Mechelen, Halle, a small town in the southwestern part of Brussels, Geraardsbergen, a small town practically on the border of the provinces of Brabant and East-Flanders and Brussels. In all cases the field workers originated from the places chosen, they spoke the dialect fluently and they had many contacts in the community although none of them originally belonged to the network under study. In Figure 3 the kind of networks, the total number of members and the total number of members who actually participated in the research, are summarized. Figure 4 gives some details as to the age of the network members as well as some indication of their general SES.

Town	Kind of network	Overall number of members	Research participants
Elewijt	Neighbours	8	6 (3m; 3f)
Halle	Organized neighbourhood ass.	15	10 (4m: 6f)
Geraardsbergen	Women's club	14	7 (-m; 7f)
Brussels	Old age pensioners	6	6 (1m; 5f)

Figure 3: Kind of network, the overall number of network members and the number of research participants.

Town	Age range	Remarks regarding SES
Elewijt	19 to 64	Lower and middle class
Halle	14 to 64	Middle class
Geraardsbergen	31 to 63	Lower middle class
Brussels	54 to 80	Lower class

Figure 4: Age and general social position of network member concerned.

In two cases the group consisted of neighbours (Elewijt and Halle) one group was a club (Geraardsbergen), while the Brussels network consisted of a more or less random group of older people. In two of these cases the network was hierarchically structured (Halle and Geraardsbergen) with a chairperson, a secretary and treasurer. In all cases one can speak of open networks in GUMPERZ's (1982) sense, and in all cases a number of sub-groups can be distinguished which formed closer networks, e.g. families.

It is also important to have some idea of the network density, because this figure may indicate the potential weight of communication within the network. The higher the density, the more homogeneous the spreading of norms and values might be expected. However, intense communication and information transmission should be evaluated carefully since relationships between individuals not necessarily belonging to the same network may have an even greater impact. Therefore, not just the density but also the multiplexity or the degree of overlap of roles (cf. BOISSEVAIN 1974) is important, while it gives an idea of the intensity of communication within the network.

For the calculation of both density and multiplexity BOISSEVAIN's (1974) and MILROY's (1980) formulae were used:

$$D = \frac{100\ Na}{\frac{1}{2}N\ (N-1)}\% \qquad M = \frac{Nm\ 100}{N}\%$$

Na stands for the actual total number of links and N for the total number of persons, whereas Nm stands for the number of multiplex links. In both cases the researcher was excluded from the computation. Figure 5 summarizes the results for the groups studied.

Town	D(%)	M(%)
Elewijt	46	85
Halle	100	22
Geraardsb.	95	15

Figure 5: Density and multiplexity scores for three network groups.

For the Brussels network the calculation turned out to be irrelevant since the group of six (see Figure 3) in fact consisted of two smaller networks of two and four people, one family and four other members connected in such a way that these scores could no longer be relevantly interpreted. It is interesting to compare the scores of the other towns in terms of density and multiplexity. Although the Elewijt network showed a relatively high density, the multiplexity score showed much stronger coherence than in the other two groups. The opposite was true for Halle and Geraardsbergen where an optimal density in fact was balanced by a low multiplexity score. Nevertheless figures such as these need to be considered in relation to the significance for language behaviour. Since the multiplexity score came about based on family relationships they are only relevant in so far as it can be proved that family relation does indeed influence language behaviour.

2.2 Method

In all cases a large range of recordings in different contexts was aimed at with as many members of the network as possible. This was not always possible. Three styles could be distinguished: informal talks with the researcher and among network members, more formal conversations with the researcher and among network members, and the most formal style, which was deliberately presented in an artificial way, reading. The informal conversation did not pose any problems, as the researchers were very well (Elewijt) or rather well (the other cases) acquainted with the network members. In Elewijt and Halle the researchers paid social calls on the informants, while in Geraardsbergen they participated in the ongoing activity, namely the staging of a play. In the Brussels pensioners' restaurant the researcher pretended he was a member of the staff. As a result of these relations it was relatively easy to get material from informal conversations. However, in all cases it turned out to be impossible to get formal conversations among network members themselves and rather difficult to get formal material from conversations with the researcher. For this case the conversations from the acquaintance period were used. Figure 6 gives a general overview of the kind of material that was gathered.

Town	Informal speech		Formal speech		Reading
	am. Nwm.	w. res.	am. Nwm.	w. res.	
Elewijt	x	x	–	–	x
Halle	x	–	–	x	x
Geraardsb.	x	x	–	x	x
Brussels	x	x	–	–	–

Figure 6: Overview of the material gathered in four networks (am. NwM = among network members; w. res. = with researcher).

2.3 Analysis

Since our interest went to aspects of variation and standardization on the phonic level and the possible role of network relationships we decided to study a number of variables which were sensitive for variation and standardization. Figure 7 summarizes these variables per community. In this paper only three variables will be discussed. This choice is based on the fact that they represent three kinds of variation: (1) system constrained variation with (t), (2) phonetic interference variation with (h), since this variable does not occur in the dialect of the places studied, and (3) (a) which is much stigmatized in most Brabantic and East Flanders dialects. Figure 8 shows the actual phonetic value of each of these three variables.

Town	Variables							
Elewijt	(a)	(t)	(h)	(e)	(n)			
Halle		(t)	(h)		(n)	(ŋ)	(sX)	
Geraardsb.	(a)	(t)	(h)			(ŋ)	(sX)	(r)
Brussels	(a)	(t)		(e)		(ŋ)		

Figure 7: Total group of variables studied in four network communities.

Town	Elewijt	Halle	Geraardsb.	Brussels
Variable				
(a)	[a:ɹ], [a:] [a], [ɔ]	-	[aˤ:], [a] [ã], [e:], [a:ɹ]	[a], [a:], [aⁱ] [aᵘ], [aᵊ], [ɛ:]
(h)	Ø, [h]	Ø, [h]	Ø, [h], [g], [X]	o
(t)	Ø, [t], [d]	Ø, [t], [d]	Ø, [t], [d] [tʃ], [dʒ]	Ø, [t], [d]

Figure 8: Actual phonetic variation for three variables in four network communities.

In Halle (a) was not investigated because no variation was found and in Brussels lack of formal material prevented the study of (h).

2.4 Results

For each of the variables in Figure 8 we checked to which degree the independent variables sex, age, SES, linguistic background and the (sub)-network had an influence in three styles. Figure 9 summarizes the general results. The term significant should here be interpreted as meaning that the found variation between styles is significant in relation to the various independent variables. For Brussels only one style could be studied. Each network was divided into clusters, in most cases family or blood relations, so that the networks were not mutually compared but the sub-networks.

Summarizing Figure 9 per community the following observations stand out. Elewijt. In the informal style the realization of (a) is significant as compared to age, sex and network differences. In the formal style SES also turns out to be significant. The realization of (h) is sex-sensitive but not in the way we might have expected. In this group men appear more norm-conscious than women. The other results are as might expected: the younger the informant and the higher the level of education, the more standard language variation is produced. Halle. Age and sex are significant in the realization of (h) both in formal conversation and in reading. In the informal field (t) is age-sensitive: the older the informants, the less standard variation is likely to be produced. Also reading is influenced by sex and age and, as far as (h) is concerned, also by SES and the network. Geraardsbergen. In the informal style the linguistic background of the network members was important to the variation of (a). As for the more formal style age is significant and in the case of (t) SES. Brussels. In the informal style the variation of (a) is significant with respect to age, linguistic background and the network; as for (t) background and network were significant.

2.5 Discussion

2.5.0 Introduction

In the following the independent variables will be discussed separately. Then these results will be placed against a broader background in which will be discussed aspects of variation and linguistic and social rules.

2.5.1 Sex

In the two communities where sex could be studied meaningfully, sex sensitivity was found. In Halle it was seen that in those cases

Styles		Informal			Formal			Reading		
Variables		(a)	(h)	(t)	(a)	(h)	(t)	(a)	(h)	(t)
Sex	E	0.05	ns	ns	0.05	ns	ns	ns	0.05	ns
	H	-	ns	ns	-	0.01	0.05	-	0.01	ns
	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	B	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age	E	0.05	ns	ns	0.01	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	H	-	ns	0.05	-	0.05	ns	-	0.01	ns
	G	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.01	0.01	ns	0.01	ns
	B	0.01	0	ns	0	0	0	0	0	0
SES	E	ns	ns	ns	0.01	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	H	-	ns	ns	-	ns	ns	-	0.01	-
	G	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.01	ns	ns	ns
	B	-	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linguistic background	E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	G	0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	B	0.01	0	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0
Network	E	0.05	ns	ns	0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	H	-	ns	ns	-	ns	ns	-	0.01	ns
	G	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	B	0.01	0	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 9 : General results for three variables in three styles matched with six independent variables ("-" means irrelevant with respect to the material, "0" means not investigated, "ns" non-significant, 0.05 and 0.01 mean $p < 0.05$ or 0.01).

where significant differences were registered women were more norm-conscious than men while in Elewijt the reverse was found. This can be explained in the sense that in Elewijt the men were generally younger and had a higher level of education than the women. In other words in so far as this still needed confirmation sex does not provide absolute differences but is interfered with by factors such as age and SES.

2.2.2 Age

In all cases variation toward the standard language decreases in proportion with age: the younger the subjects, the more standard language variation is produced, even when comparing fifty year olds with eighty year olds. This, of course, coincides with the idea that aspects of language change are closely related to generation differences, at least in the societal environments under investigation.

2.5.3 SES

Social economic status and educational level which was implied by this gave relatively few significant results. This is not surprising. In Flanders the use of dialect is as yet not related to SES. The dialect can be used in a variety of situations quite independent of status aspects. The fact that this situation is rapidly changing does not, of course, affect the results under discussion here. The situation in Flanders can be described using the conceptual distinction between macro- and microdiglossia (cf. BERRUTO, 1984). Macrodiglossia is the situation where there is a great amount of overlap in the functional domains between the standard language and the dialect, whereas microdiglossia is, of course, the opposite. These terms refer to the roles of dialect and the way dialect is spread and they may be brought in connection with the "supreme language" hypothesis (cf. BAETENS BEARDSMORE, 1983). The result is a considerable amount of linguistic interference and less chance that significant differences will be found.

2.5.4 Linguistic background

In as far as this factor was studied it appears to play a role in informal language use but again perhaps not in the way some of the literature seems to indicate. The chairwoman of the women's club in Geraardsbergen, for instance, originally did not speak the local dialect. Even though she was clearly the central figure in the network she tried hard to accommodate her speech to the local characteristics. Now this seems to run contrary to LABOV's (1980a) suggestion that the central figure of a network exerts linguistic influence upon the others. In this case linguistic accommodation is clearly seen as a prerequisite for the leading role.

2.5.5 Network

As was mentioned before each network was divided into clusters. For Elewijt these clusters ran parallel with age and SES. Moreover, a high multiplexity score was found. The stigmatized (a) significance is a clear indication of this. In Halle similar clusters were found but they were significant only for (h) in the reading style. The material from Geraardsbergen showed no significant variation in network clusters since the composition was rather homogeneous. The Brussels material showed network sensitivity but this may be due to the rather unbalanced distribution of the sub-networks.

One might say that networks seem as important to language variation as the other independent variables. I am not inclined to consider them as more important and it is certainly wrong to consider network relations as the sole cause — if cause at all — of language variation and/or languare change. In this respect I would like to refer to ROMAINE (1984) who made some very relevant remarks in this connection bearing an interesting number of theoretical implications. She writes:

> "networks don't explain anything over and beyond what can be explained by reference to the agents who form the networks. A network is a theoretical construct which has no sui generis power to cause people to behave in a particular way. It is, however, legitimate to recognize that an agent's social position and his relations with others may constraint his behaviour on a particular occasion in specific ways" (33).

ROMAINE wished to stress the various interactional factors that influence language behaviour and the necessary hermeneutic approach that goes together with it. Since language variation is determined by individual interpretation strongly influenced, however, by social forces, network concepts will undoubtedly play a role since they largely depend on interactional phenomena. Yet it is hard to predict the range of this influence. These results, as well as other research which made use of the network concept (see MILROY, 1980, ch. 6 for an overview) point to a number of forces pushing in the same direction but apparently these forces do not all push at the same time and equally powerfully. In the next part some reasons for this will be outlined.

2.5.6 Theoretical implications

2.5.6.0 Introduction

In this part an attempt is made to set some of the findings against a broader background. First aspects of linguistic and social rules are discussed, next the implications for sociolinguistic variation are examined.

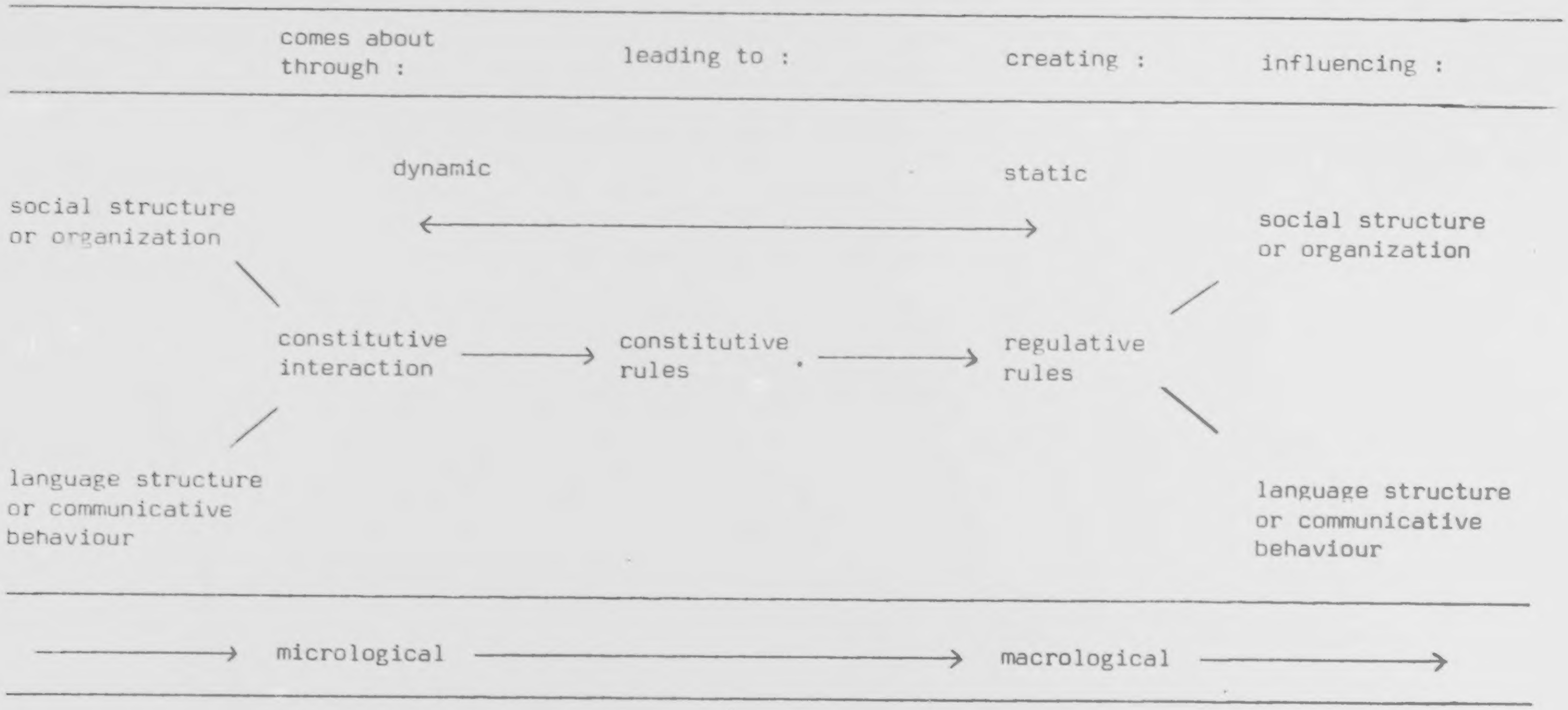
comes about through :
leading to :
creating :
influencing :
dynamic
static
social structure or organization
constitutive interaction
constitutive rules
regulative rules
social structure or organization
language structure or communicative behaviour
language structure or communicative behaviour
micrological
macrological

Figure 10 : Relationship between constitutive and regulative rules, social structure and language structure.

2.5.6.1 Social and linguistic rules

SEARLE (1969) has introduced two kinds of rules: regulative rules and constitutive rules. Regulative rules are rules, existing, so to speak, independent of existing forms of behaviour. Constitutive rules "create or define new forms of behaviour". Regulative rules "regulate a pre-existing activity ... logically independent of the rules" while constitutive rules "constitute ... an activity the existence of which is logically dependent on the rules" (SEARLE, 1969: 33-4). Grammar and the organization of society constitute sets of regulative rules while everyday communication and behaviour are examples of constitutive activities.

If we ask ourselves how the regulative rules have come about the only answer seemingly is through constitutive ones. In fact it can be argued that regulative rules are stigmatized constitutive ones. On the other hand since regulative rules are already there, so to speak, they will, of course, influence the nature of constitutive rules. Consider now how the complex relationship between language structure and social structure can be represented (see Figure 10).

Social organization and communicative behaviour both come about through dynamic constitutive interaction leading to constitutive rules which in their turn create static regulative rules. But the latter will again influence the social organization or communicative behaviour. At the same time we can see the role of the micrological and macrological features which respectively belong to the constitutive and regulative activity.

This model is in need of further clarification since it suggests that social organization and communicative behaviour run parallel. What we need is an understanding of the relationship between the components. Let us do this in terms of maximum and minimum individual manipulation possible (cf. ROMAINE, 1984) (see Figure 11).

Language structure or communicative behaviour	Social structure or organization	
regulative	regulative	minimum individual power, least subject to manipulation
phonetics	social institutions	
syntax		
semantics	individual behaviour	maximum individual power, most subject to manipulation
pragmatics		
constitutive	constitutive	

Figure 11: Relationship between language structure and social structure in terms of minimum and maximum individual power.

Communicative behaviour can be conceived of as the interplay between phonetics, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, with phonetics clearly on top as least manageable. Hierarchically one is at first sight inclined to put individual behaviour on the same level as phonetics since it can be considered the counterpart of the smallest element in communicative behaviour. Yet, this is not so in terms of minimum power. In this case the counterpart of the smallest element of the communicative system is with respect to social structure the largest element possible, i.e. social institutions. We see now that the relationship between individual behaviour and phonetics, which was in fact the object of the study presented, is inversely commensurable. This, of course, explains why social factors and linguistic factors do not automatically overlap since the status of the components differ considerably. Furthermore, this means that the relationship between two components, one on the right and one of the left in Figure 11 is influenced by a great many unpredictable factors with a different weighting. This is why such various results with respect to the independent variables were found.

2.5.6.2 Sociolinguistic theory

Referring back to the beginning of this paper it was seen that MUYSKEN thought a sociolinguistic theory impossible since the relationship between social and linguistic aspects is solely superficial. Figure 11 shows some insight in how these layers can be considered. What he calls outer layers should instead be seen as an intricate unpredictable inversely commensurate relationship. From this it is clear that probabilistic approaches must be carefully interpreted. Instead we will have to build small scale approaches first, and interpret them carefully in order to examine how the relationship between constitutive and regulative factors operate. In this respect it is reasonable to abandon the terms "micro" and "macrological" since they do not offer a substantial contribution to the intricate workings of linguistic and societal aspects.

3. The Relevance of Sociolinguistic Research Revisited

This paper has been an attempt, by means of small scale research, to demonstrate that the relationship between language structure and social structure can be seen as an unceasing undulating movement between constitutive and regulative factors of which the direction can seldom be predicted. However, for certain specific situations, such as a standardization process, for instance, the direction of an evolution seems to be irreversibly determined, i.e. provided the situational characteristics do not change dramatically. In Flanders, this process is moving towards an expanding standard language use together with the changing functions of diglossia. Gradually a state of macrodiglossia is abandoned in favour of microdiglossia. In more theoretical terms and using the methaphors of Figure 10, this means that the constitutive interaction processes are influencing the regulative functions and their interpretation in the direction mentioned above. In this way any sociolinguistic theory is bound to be dynamic and hermeneutical in nature. This to me is not only a contribution to linguistics in particular but to the social sciences in general. Of course, this suggests the construction of sociolinguistic theories as a long and painful process, but let me in this respect remind you of the story of the Arab sheiks who used to throw away their cars each time the tray got full. Let sociolinguists be much more patient.

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2. All translations are by the author (P vdC).

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LANGUAGE CHOICE AND COMMUNICATIVE INTENT IN A BRITISH BLACK COMMUNITY

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Résumé / Abstract

La situation de la communauté noire antillaise en Grande-Bretagne a subi d'importants changements au cours des quinze dernières années pendant lesquelles l'immigration en provenance des Caraïbes a pratiquement cessé. Cette communication explore les différentes façons dont les usages langagiers des Antillais nés en Grande-Bretagne ont évolué par rapport aux normes noires des Caraïbes. A un des pôles du continuum linguistique on trouve des jeunes noirs dont la langue est identique à celle de la norme des blancs locaux dans des situations de conversation ethniquement mixtes. A l'autre pôle du continuum se trouve une faible proportion de locuteurs qui utilisent le créole dans toutes les situations, quels que soient leurs interlocuteurs. Entre ces deux pôles il existe un large éventail de choix langagiers qui semblent fortement influencés par des considérations de formalité et d'ethnicité. La nature du vernaculaire noir est alors examinée et, sur la base d'une distinction entre traits marqués et non-marqués, une hiérarchie des choix langagiers se dégage. Cette hiérarchie se corrèle de façon significative avec les réseaux sociaux des locuteurs: plus les réseaux sont "noirs", plus le nombre de situations comprenant des traits vernaculaires est élevé. La fonction symbolique du choix de la langue pour les Antillais est analysée en rapport avec les données linguistiques enregistrées ainsi que les perceptions qu'ont les locuteurs de leur situation.

Introduction

Important social and linguistic changes have taken place within the British Black community in recent years. We have seen the gradual transition from an immigrant group that arrived from the West Indies in the 1950's and 1960's, to a mixed community which includes an entire generation of British born young people. This community has a great deal of cohesiveness. Both generations share many common values and cultural perspectives. They are also united in the daily experience of being a visible minority in a country where the low status of black people has remained largely unchanged for more than thirty years (cf. BROWN, 1984).

However, there are also important differences between settlers and British born black people. The younger generation has received a British education, has been exposed primarily to the British media and interpretation of events, and is currently experiencing the worst effect of economic depression. Black people have always found themselves at the bottom of the socio-economic pile. But whereas the first generation tended to be employed in jobs at a level beneath their capabilities, many of their children have never been employed and their chances of finding and remaining in work are, in the main, very limited. The social consequences of prolonged racial inequality have begun to manifest themselves in civil disorder and other expressions of frustration (see EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, 1980; SCARMAN, 1981). Given the close inter-relationships between language and society, it is reasonable to surmise that the linguistic behaviour of young black people will act as an accurate thermometer of the current socio-political temperature.

West Indian immigrants spoke varieties of English which drew on essentially the same vocabulary base as British English but differed in important respects in phonology, morphology and syntax (see, for instance, BAILEY, 1966; SUTCLIFFE, 1982). It was expected that their children would quickly assimilate the speech patterns of their white peers as they made their way through the school system, but this did not prove to be the case for many years (EDWARDS, 1979). None the less, important changes took place during the 1970's as a result of progressively more stringent immigration legislation. From the beginning of the decade the number of new arrivals diminished to a trickle and for the first time we were dealing with a generation of British black children rather than a mixed British and Caribbean group, and the emergence of a distinctively British black identity. Although subtle differences remain in the speech of many young black people (cf. SEBBA, 1984), the majority now speak a variety of English identical with or almost indistinguishable from the local white norm.

This has led many white observers to conclude that the importance of "Patois", the community term for West Indian Creoles, is rapidly diminishing in the black community. For many people, competence in Patois is limited to the occasional "deepening" of dialect features (cf. ROSEN and BURGESS, 1980), and it is assumed that, because young people do not use Patois in interaction with whites, they do not use it in other settings either. These conclusions, however, are based for the most part on self-reports of children to white researchers and observation in racially mixed settings such as school, rather than on systematic study of young people in a wide range of situations.

The present study

It is against this backcloth that the present investigation of the patterns of language use in a British black community is set. Forty-five young British born people between the ages of 16 and 23 took part, having been located initially through the network relations of the black fieldworkers on the project. All were members of families who had come originally from Jamaica and currently lived in Dudley, West Midlands. It is impossible to construct a sample frame for the British Black population which would ensure representativeness. Census data contain no information on ethnicity and other means of identification sometimes used in the study of minority communities, such as country of birth or names (cf. LINGUISTIC MINORITIES PROJECT, 1984) are clearly not relevant in the case of British born black people. It was therefore decided to aim for a judgement sample reflecting those social categories which systematic ethnographic observation suggested would be important in determining language choice. This sample included approximately equal numbers of young men and women from a wide range of educational backgrounds, with very differing attitudes towards mainstream white society. Their social network relations varied from exclusively black to predominantly white.

All of the speakers were recorded in friendship groups of two or three for an average of one and a quarter hours. Each recording session was divided into five different situations. In two thirds of the cases, recording started with a formal interview with a white researcher (situation 1). In the remaining third, this interview was placed last to ensure that any observed differences in language could be attributed to differences in formality and ethnicity rather than any "warm-up" effect. Next followed a formal interview with a black researcher (situation 2). At the end of this section of recording the black interviewer went out in search of questionnaires, leaving the participants with a young white student who had been introduced to them as somebody looking after the tape-recorder, but not officially a part of the project. What followed was informal racially mixed conversation (situation 3). The young people were then presented with questionnaires on British Black language and society. They were told that they would be left on their own so that they could discuss the questions among themselves without pressure from the researchers (situation 4). The black researcher returned 15-20 minutes later with drinks and food and chatted informally with the speakers (situation 5).

This structure proved extremely effective in eliciting a very wide range of speech. There were clear differences between formal and informal situations in the length of utterance, the symmetry of exchanges and the number of interruptions. Particularly pleasing was the success of leaving participants alone in producing truly informal speech. Although no attempt was made to conceal recording equipment, most speakers either assumed that only the interviews were being recorded or completely forgot about the tape-recorder.

What is "Patois"?

Among the questions considered in the course of analyzing the data were the relationships between the frequency of Patois usage and the non-linguistic variables referred to above (education, attitudes towards white society and social network); and the different levels of competence in Patois which are to be found in the British

Black community. For present purposes, however, discussion will focus on the issue of whether it is possible to discern different patterns of language use which might enable us to explain the symbolic functions of "English" and "Patois" usage.

The most serious obstacle to this discussion is the absence of criteria by which we might decide what precisely constitute Patois usage. It should be understood that even in settings where the use of Patois is considered appropriate, very few British Black people use it in a sustained way; in most cases, speakers switch rapidly between "English" and "Patois" from sentence to sentence and even clause to clause, in a way which is characteristic of stable bilingual communities in many parts of the world (see, for example, HERNANDEZ-CHAVEZ, 1975; KACHRU, 1978; POPLACK, 1980). Some writers (cf. LAWTON, 1980) have also observed code-switching behaviour between different parts of the Creole continuum in a Caribbean context. Switching in the British Black community, however, is between two highly focussed varieties with remarkably little of the mesolectal variation that would be expected in Caribbean speech data, and is more reminiscent of a bilingual than a continuum situation.

The problem remains, however, as to what precisely constitutes Patois usage. Some speakers use a wide range of Patois features either as part of code-switching behaviour or in more sustained usage; others use only Patois phonology and a narrow range of morphosyntactic features. In some situations, Patois features occur very frequently; in others hardly at all. It is clear that we would not wish to label a set of speech data as "Patois" solely on the basis of the occasional substitution of a dental stop for a fricative or the isolated uninflected plural noun. However, it is not so clear at which point it becomes reasonable to make this decision.

Fortunately, the analysis of Patois frequency mentioned above (see also EDWARDS, 1986) gives some useful clues as to how objective decisions might be made. Frequency scores based on the relative proportions of Patois and English variants of some eleven commonly occurring variables showed that certain situations were clearly "more English" (the formal black and white interviews, and the informal racially mixed conversation) while certain others were "more Patois" (the peer group and the informal black conversations). With the exception of some six speakers who used high proportions of black variants in all five situations, it emerged that only a very narrow range of Patois features (the phonological variants, uninflected nouns and third person present singular - s) were to be found in the "English" situations.

It was therefore possible to divide the variables which formed the basis for the frequency scores into two distinct blocks. The features in the first block act as indicators (cf. LABOV, 1972; CHAMBERS & TRUDGILL, 1980) and show gradient stratification with relatively little social and stylistic variation. The features in the second block, in contrast (pronouns, infinitives, do+neg, simple past, copulas) show sharp stratification corresponding to considerable social and stylistic variation and behave as markers. The occurrence of features from this second block in the speech of a given speaker in a given situation, irrespective of frequency, was thus held to mark that situation as "Patois" for that speaker. The absence of second block features defined the situation as "English".

Using these classificatory criteria, each speaker was assigned a score from 1 to 5, depending on the number of situations in which they used Block Two features. Speakers varied widely in the scores which they achieved. It was notable, however, that the combination of Patois situations remained invariant across the speakers. Thus, those who used Patois in one situation always chose the same situation, those who used Patois in two situations always chose the same two situations and so on. The implicational relationships which emerged can be seen clearly in Figure 1 below -

Table 1: Proportions of speakers who use Patois variants, situation by situation.

	No. of speakers	Sit. 1 (white formal)	Sit. 3 (white informal)	Sit. 2 (black formal)	Sit. 5 (black informal)	Sit. 4 (black peers)
Pattern 1	5	English	English	English	English	Patois
Pattern 2	14	English	English	English	Patois	Patois
Pattern 3	13	English	English	Patois	Patois	Patois
Pattern 4	4	English	Patois	Patois	Patois	Patois
Pattern 5	6	Patois	Patois	Patois	Patois	Patois

The situational constraints on Patois usage are thus clear to see.

Both formality and ethnicity exert a significant influence over language choice, and though there is a wide range of variation between speakers as to which situations are defined as Patois, an unmistakable hierarchy emerges which allows us to make statements about the conditions most likely to provoke Patois usage in a British Black speaker. In this hierarchy, informal conversation in which all the participants are well known to one another are most likely to give rise to Patois, followed by informal black conversations where the participants are less intimate, formal black interaction, informal racially mixed conversation and, finally, formal conversation with whites.

Social determinants of patterns of language choice

When patterns scores were correlated with the various non-linguistic variables, a statistically significant relationship was found to hold between the speakers' patterns of language choice and their social networks. In the context of the present study, measurements of network related to their degree of integration into the black community. Questions were asked concerning where speakers lived and worked, their friends and leisure activities. Scores were assigned to the various answers in such a way that a high network score indicated that the speaker's social relations were based mainly or even exclusively in the black community, whereas a low score reflected a wide range of voluntary associations with white people.

Interestingly, employment proved to be a very accurate predictor of network score. Those who were out of work understandably spent most of their time with black friends in a similar position, so that unemployment had the effect of consolidating black social networks. Those who were employed, in contrast, were inevitably brought into contact with a much wider range of people in situations where whites were in the majority, and achieved much lower network scores. The effect of unemployment on social network in the British Black community is thus the exact opposite of that described by MILROY (1980) for the working class Belfast community of Ballymacarrett. There the ties created by large numbers of men working for the same employer were highly instrumental in creating tight-knit dense social networks.

In both situations, however, speakers' social networks would seem to exert a powerful normative force on language patterns. When people belong to dense, multiplex networks in which most of the social contacts not only know each other but relate to each other in a variety of ways (e.g. brother, neighbour, work mate) the pressures to conform both socially and linguistically are far greater than in loose-knit networks where a person has contact with a series of unrelated individuals. In a British Black context, the more integrated speakers are into the black community, the more likely they are to use Patois in a wide range of social contexts.

The relationship between Patois patterns and other language measures

A number of misconceptions surround the issue of language choice in the British Black community. There is a widespread assumption, for instance, that Black children who do not speak Patois in racially mixed settings such as school, are unwilling or unable to speak Patois in other settings. Nor would it be unreasonable to assume that those who used Patois in the widest range of situations would also be the most competent Patois speakers. However, close examination of the actual language behaviour of young British Black people does not support these claims.

A number of interesting generalizations can be made about the different language patterns which emerge. Pattern 1 speakers (those who use Patois only in black peer group settings) tend to use only a very narrow range of Patois variants and to have a very limited comptetence in Patois. Pattern 4 and 5 speakers (those who use Patois in all settings, or all settings other than the white formal interview), on the other hand, tend to use a very high proportion of Patois features and to be extremely competent speakers. However, no such generalizations can be made about the Pattern 2 and 3 speakers who form up to 70 per cent of the Dudley sample. The young people who follow these patterns vary considerably both in the frequency with which they use Patois variants and the range of variants which are to be found in their speech.

In order to characterize the language behaviour of British Black speakers we need to draw on a wide range of measures, including frequency and competence, as well as patterns of language choice (cf. EDWARDS, 1986; forthcoming). The particular value of the pattern scores, however, lies in the fact that they allow us to make further useful distinctions between individuals which can explain how and why speakers make different choices.

The symbolic function of language choice

The importance of defining a situation as either "English" or "Patois" lies in the symbolic function of such decisions. If we take the position that in any community there is a general consensus as to which variety is considered the appropriate or "unmarked" choice for a given situation (cf. SCOTTON, 1980), any speaker who chooses to use an unexpected or "marked" variety in this situation is communicating an unambiguous message. In a British setting, English is considered to be the unmarked variety for formal situations such as interviews and racially mixed interactions. Any British black who chooses to use Patois in these situations is thus rejecting the inferior status which is associated with black language and culture in a clear assertion of their black identity. The degree to which a white interlocutor will feel threatened or offended by this choice will clearly be determined by the extent to which they share the speaker's perceptions of that black identity. Similarly, Patois is considered the marked choice in informal black interactions. It acknowledges the speakers' black identity and communicates feelings of warmth, friendship and solidarity. English speech in these situations is likely to be considered prissy, snobbish and disloyal to the group.

This interpretation is supported both by observation of various kinds of interaction and by explicit discussion of these issues by young black people themselves. Participants in the study talked a a good deal, for instance, of the use of Patois in school situations where English is the unmarked choice. In these situations Patois can be used to some considerable effect to exclude white people and,

Table 2 : Distribution of Frequency and Competence Scores according to Patterns of Language Usage.

Speaker	Pattern	Competence(2)	Frequency	Frequency range
20	1	9	93.50	91.56 to 96.17
21	1	10	94.38	
27	1	10	93.59	
35	1	11	96.17	
26	1	12	91.56	
37	2	8	96.29	81.49 to 96.29
39	2	9	94.94	
36	2	10	96.17	
17	2	11	88.08	
38	2	12	92.87	
26	2	13	92.45	
3	2	14	88.99	
8	2	14	88.60	
10	2	14	86.00	
19	2	14	90.93	
42	2	16	81.49	
31	2	18	88.37	
18	2	20	81.73	
41	2	20	83.46	
1	3	13	79.77	78.5 to 91.95
2	3	13	89.77	
9	3	14	88.90	
14	3	15	89.59	
6	3	15	89.17	
7	3	17	91.95	
13	3	18	82.93	
4	3	19	90.26	
11	3	19	89.43	
12	3	19	78.81	
15	3	19	79.20	
34	3	19	86.88	
29	3	20	78.53	
28	4	17	78.39	42.63 to 78.39
24	4	19	42.63	
23	4	20	63.62	
40	4	20	67.50	
32	5	18	37.61	29.34 to 71.32
45	5	18	29.34	
16	5	20	71.32	
33	5	20	48.99	
43	5	20	40.39	
44	5	20	34.10	

in particular, teachers and to assert the validity of the individual's — or the group's — black identity. Sometimes the use of Patois in situations such as these is an act of open aggression or defiance. However, it can also be a more playful activity which bonds the group as they savour the confusion and embarrassment of the white authority figure who does not understand the Patois exchange. Juliet, for instance, recalls the bantering behaviour of one of her class mates:

> "I remember a boy at school ... when she [the teacher] used to really go at him, he used to go back at her in Patois. So, one morning when we got in school, right, she had this book in her hand and on the side of the book you could see 'Talk Patois' and all that, and I says, 'Carlton, look! Look at that book. It's about Patois. She soon get to understand it when you ready fi cuss her'".

White people, of course, ar not always excluded from Patois conversations and there are many reports from the yound people in the present study and elsewhere (cf. HEWITT, 1982) of whites with a good working knowledge of Patois. However, this accomplishment would seem to give rise to very ambivalent emotions on the part of most young British blacks. Although they often find it amusing and, on occasions, even flattering, there is a strong feeling that black language is the property of black people and that whites should not intrude.

Reactions towards black who cannot or will not use Patois in black situations are equally censorious. Norma, for instance, berates her "snobby" sister who, despite the ability to speak Patois, often chooses to use English with other young black people.

> "She speaks it [Patois] to me, to some of her coloured friends who she knows speak Patois, but to her snobby coloured friends she speaks English. She talk Queen English, brebber! She's the snotty one of the family!"

One of the obvious conclusions which can be drawn from an analysis of the different language patterns is that different ranges of Patois features can serve the same symbolic function for different speakers. A highly competent speaker will mark a situation as Patois with the frequent use of a wide range of black variants; a less competent speaker will draw less frequently on a much more limited range. Irrespective of frequency or range, however, the use of Patois markers signals the same symbolic functions.

This analysis goes some way at least towards explaining the rather amazing discrepancies which exist between various estimates of the proportions of British Black people who regularly use Patois. These estimates range between 20 per cent (ROSEN & BURGESS, 1980) and 100 per cent (TOMLIN, 1981). It would appear that the investigators have sometimes failed to identify the most pertinent questions and, consequently, are measuring quite different phenomena. If the issue is whether British Blacks use language to mark a distinctively black identity, the answer would seem to be that all or almost all of them behave in this way. If, however, the issue is whether all speakers have an active command of a very wide range of Patois features, then it must be conceded that the competence of young British Blacks varies considerably (cf. EDWARDS, 1986; forthcoming).

Discussion

As a result of the emergence of a generation of British born Black people who speak in the main varieties of English almost indistinguishable from the local white norms, there has been considerable speculation that the importance of Patois is disappearing. Such speculation, however, has been based on the observation of young black people in racially mixed settings such as school. More systematic observation suggests that this interpretation of events is extremely misleading, and that it is not possible to extrapolate from racially mixed to other situations.

The language behaviour of British Blacks can be shown to vary considerably both between individuals and between situations. Some speakers in some situations use a high frequency of a wide range of Patois variants; others use a narrow range of Patois variants very sparingly. The greatest obstacle to the identification of any patterns of language choice which may exist is thus the absence of objective criteria which would allow us to decide whether a situation should be labelled as "Patois" or "English".

By analyzing the frequency with which Black speakers use Patois variants, it is possible to identify certain situations as "more English" and others as "more Patois". When the small number of speakers who use high proportions of Patois variants in all situations are excluded, it emerges further that only a very narrow range of Patois variants occur in the more English situations. These features are taken to be Patois indicators. Other features which occur only in more Patois situations are considered to be Patois markers. In this way, it is possible to determine which situations are "Patois" and which "English" for all speakers.

A very distinct pattern emerges across the sample. Those speakers who use Patois in only one situation always choose the same one (the black peer group conversation); those who use Patois in two situations always choose the two informal black situations; those who use Patois in three situations always choose the three black situations; and those who use Patois in four situations always choose the black situations and the informal racially mixed conversation. There is thus evidence of a situational hierarchy which allows us to predict the likelihood of a speaker using Patois.

There is also confirmation that in some situations the consensus view is that English is the unmarked or expected choice and that in others Patois serves this function. The use of the unmarked variety signals compliance with community norms; the use of the marked variety, in contrast, indicates that the speaker refuses to accept the role or status normally associated with that language variety. Thus, speakers who use Patois in an English situation are strongly asserting their black identity and rejecting the low status assigned to black people by the dominant white society. Similarly, in Patois situations, where the use of black variants signals warmth, friendship and solidarity, the exclusive use of English is likely to be perceived as a distancing strategy.

Although the frequency with which speakers' use Patois variants and their overall competence in Patois can be predicted for Pattern 1, 4 and 5 speakers, no such generalizations can be made for Pattern 2 and 3 speakers who represent by far the largest proportion of the present sample. An analysis in terms of patterns of language choice thus has the advantage of allowing us to make further distinctions between individual speakers. It also leads to an understanding that the effect of different frequencies and ranges of Patois usage can serve the same symbolic function and conversational intent.

Notes

1. This paper is work carried out as part of a research project on "Patterns of language use in a British Black community", which was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

2. Competence scores were based on the number of Patois features from an inventory of twenty which appeared in the speech of participants at some time during recording, irrespective of the frequency with which they occurred (see EDWARDS, 1986).

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COMMENTS

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The three papers under discussion in this comment are the following: "Language Choice and Communicative Intent in a British Black Community" presented by Viv EDWARDS, "The Relevance of Social Network Analysis in the Psycholinguistic Investigation of Multicultural Behavior" from Josiane F. HAMERS, and that presented by Pete VAN DE CRAEN, namely "Networks, Language Variation and the Relevance of Sociolinguistic Research".

It would be impossible to give credit to the many ideas that have been developed in these three papers, since all of them discuss important theoretical questions: Viv EDWARDS' paper gives a fine and subtle account of the various ways in which social status (e.g. employment/unemployment), social networks, variable language behavior, attitudes and symbolic values attached to language can be combined; that of Josiane F. HAMERS puts into question some psychosociological constructs and insists on the need to link individual processes to a sociological construct. To achieve this end, she proposes to establish relationships between social networks, seen as an intermediate variable between society and the individual, and social representation together with the status-oriented and solidarity-oriented functions of language; as for Pete VAN DE CRAEN's one, a discussion of some criticism that has been addressed to sociolinguistics is put forward in order to propose a theoretical framework more likely to link language and society. Although in this last model it can be questioned whether language can be divided in such a hierarchy, namely phonetics, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, in order to be compared to social institutions and individual behavior, the idea of constitutive and regulative rules seems a promising avenue of research. The same can be said about the notion of social representation discussed by Josiane F. HAMERS although it should be made clear how this notion relates to those of status-oriented and solidarity-oriented functions of language, these last ones being very near what Viv EDWARDS has called the symbolic functions of language.

As can be observed, the three papers offer more than one interesting idea that brings us further into the conception of a theoretical framework which could account for the very complex phenomena bearing on society, language and the individual. One point however is in need of further discussion in such an attempt to construct a general theoretical framework and it concerns the notion of social networks.

In the three papers, social networks play an important role in the explanation of linguistic behavior. Although different results may be observed in two of the three papers, as far as the impact of networks on linguistic variables is concerned, the authors argue that networks are as important to explain language variation as can be social factors such as age, sex and social status. The importance of social networks cannot be denied from the results analyzed in these two papers and in other studies. However, the questions that arise, as far as a theoretical conception is concerned, are what are we talking about when we talk about networks, what and how are we measuring, how are networks linked to social factors or to the individual? These questions emerge from statements such as the one which concludes that people belonging to dense and multiplex networks have more pressure to conform socially and linguistically than those who have loose-knit networks or the one which states that networks seem as important to language variation as the other independant variables (age, sex, social status). From these statements, can we conclude that networks are independent of other variables or that people who have loose-knit networks experience more rarely pressures to conform? Some interpretations in sociolinguistic analyses often lead one to think in that way.

However, one might give to the notion of networks another look. In order to link networks and social categories, one might consider first the degree of social homogeneity or heterogeneity of a person's network together with her past social experience. In other words, if we ask a person about the various ways in which another person is related to her (multiplexity) or about the degree to which her social contacts know each other (density), shouldn't we first ask who these persons are in terms of age, sex, social status, and so on? In this manner, the idea of the degree of social (including ethnic) homogeneity of a network would come first whereas density, multiplexity and other items would be second, permitting therefore to link the results of historical processes, i.e. social structure and language, to those experienced by the individual through social interaction. Moreover, an analysis of this type would allow more balanced conclusions regarding "pressures to conform", that is, it would not be the pressures to conform themselves that would distinguish group of people, everybody experiencing such pressures in every situations, but rather the types of groups people want or have to conform to.

The above comments represent just a few of the questions that are left unanswered when one seeks to understand language, society and individual behavior. However, the three papers presented have the merit to have led us further towards such an understanding.

COMMENTS

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Of the three papers HAMERS' is a theoretical essay; VAN DE CRAEN's is theoretical, methodological and empirical; and EDWARDS' is empirical and methodological. HAMERS argues that social networks are a crucial intervening variable in explaining the relationship between macrosocial/structural factors, like social class, and individual variables like language attitude and behaviour. While she is right to stress the individual's internal representations of social structure, including language structure and the processes by which he takes cognizance of the social functions and values of languages in contact through interpersonal relations and interactions in his social networks, she remains vague about both these relations and interactions on the one hand and the nature of the social structure on the other. In the absence of a theory of social relations we are left with an essentially social psychological theory which remains at a microlevel of analysis.

VAN DE CRAEN starts from a macrosociological analysis and takes sociolinguistics to task for failing to explain adequately the relations between language structure and social structure. He takes up the challenge in the third part of his paper with an attempt to link the two structures through the interaction between constitutive and regulative rules; he stresses the crucial role played by social networks in transforming constitutive into regulative rules. I am not convinced by the homology between social structure and language structure. Social structure, unlike language, is not composed of discrete, finite, combinatory and hierarchical distinctive units (the so-called double articulation into morphemes and phonemes). I also find it difficult to see relevance of VAN DE CRAEN's empirical findings for his theory. Of themselves social networks are not sufficient to account for language variation in groups and individuals, as he himself concedes, and he fails to connect his empirical work with his theoretical implications. Nonetheless the author challenges traditional sociolinguistic theory and suggests new ways of relating language, society and the individual.

EDWARDS' categories of marked and unmarked code choice, borrowed from SCOTTON (1980), depend on the role relationships within social networks, but these changing roles are often identified by the code choices made by the speakers, and I detect a certain circularity here. However, the data are convincing and convincingly presented, even if implicational scaling is somewhat arbitrary as a method. In her findings employment proves an accurate predictor of network score (frequency of patois usage), that is, unemployed black adolescents used more patois than those in employment. EDWARDS concludes that this finding is the opposite of MILROY's (1980) Belfast study where it was employment that created dense and multiplex networks determinant of vernacular usage. But, surely, it is not employment per se which creates dense or loose networks, but the fact that, in both cases, speakers are drawn together into a close network, in Belfast by employment, in the British Black community by unemployement.

SECTION III

Aspects sociétaux dans l'étude des langues en contact.

Societal aspects in the study of languages in contact.

"THE ESSENCE OF LANGUAGE IS HISTORY"

A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LANGUAGE RELATIONS IN 19th CENTURY BRUSSELS

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Résumé / Abstract

Cette communication tente de mettre en évidence les liens qui existent entre relations sociales et structures linguistiques à Bruxelles au XIXe siècle. Notre point de départ est la formulation de diverses hypothèses qui mettent en rapport les caractéristiques des classes sociales et les différentes structures linguistiques qui en résultent. Ce contexte nous amène à considérer le langage comme créateur d'une situation de dominance, comme un élément du statut social et un instrument d'exclusion et de mobilité sociales. Cela présuppose un lien très étroit avec l'image que les membres d'une classe ou d'un groupe social se font de leur propre situation en société. Dans ce cadre général nous formulons des hypothèses concernant la présence d'une "aristocratie ouvrière", dont la perception sociale aurait été liée au désir de respectabilité, caractérisé par l'adoption du français comme langue courante. L'importance de la composante petite bourgeoisie dans la morphologie sociale bruxelloise nous a obligé à analyser ce groupe du point de vue de la position sociale et de l'identité idéologique, deux indicateurs de l'importance de ces deux facteurs pour l'étude de la situation linguistique à Bruxelles au XIXe siècle. Les origines, la structure et les fonctions de l'élite locale nous ont permis en outre de formuler des hypothèses concernant les attitudes linguistiques de la bourgeoisie bruxelloise.

At a previous meeting in Quebec, in 1983, I sketched the results already available of social-demographic research on language usage in 19th century Brussels. In that analysis, language was seen primarily as the result of demographic processes, as a geographic-linguistic factor linking native language with place of birth. There I stressed the great importance of migration in the growth of the capital and its link with shifts in language practices.

Here, I will put the accent on another facet of language, seeking to explain how and why a link between language and social class came into operation. In the present text I will limit myself to raising problems and formulating hypotheses but hope elsewhere to go more deeply into the results of the research.

I shall thus attempt to connect the social relations of Brussels with language relations, through the formulation of hypotheses relating the social characteristics of social classes (concerning both material circumstances and consciousness) as well as segments of social classes to the various resulting language patterns. To this end, we must broach the socialization function of language, whereby language becomes an instrument for the advancement of social and cultural unity and serves the interests of a given class or group in its struggle for cultural and political hegemony.

In this context, language acquired a role in the creation of a situation of dominance, in the penetration of bourgeois society by a system of values, convictions, attitudes that perpetuated bourgeois order. A powerful ideology of language thus led to an improved social control, as a system of justification for the hold on power by a particular language group.

Language as an element of status, as an instrument of social exclusion and mobility, also supposes a strong link with the perception of social position, with the evaluation by members of a class or group of their situation in society. In so far as shifts in language usage in 19th century Brussels were the result of choice we are compelled to find out how a potential perception of their situation by social groups could make specific forms of language-choice behaviour possible.

To fully cover this subject within the time allotted, I have restricted my analysis of the social-economic relations of 19th century Brussels to a minimum and will spare you the details of much statistical analysis.

I. The Working Class

The organization of trades in Brussels industry and the relative prosperity of specialized and highly skilled sectors, such as the printing, precision and luxury trades, imply the presence of a highly skilled labour force. Such a "labour aristocracy" has been ascribed, especially in the United Kingdom, a social perception consisting typically of the individualistic interiorisation of bourgeois values, values which in 19th century Brussels could have been coupled with the striving for "respectability" typified by the habitual usage of French.

Several British historians have seen in the presence of this privileged stratum of the working class an explanation for the integration of that class into bourgeois society and for the failure of class consciousness to develop in a revolutionary direction. This labour aristocracy attained its privileged status through greater job security, better working and living conditions, higher and more regular wages, relatively closer relations with the "petite bourgeoisie" and "authority at work".

Through housing patterns, through their own social and cultural life, they emphasized their own identity, their own subculture characterized by the domination of bourgeois ideology. Such status values as respectability, social improvement, independence, were transformed through a workers' tradition of collective help and strength, dignity and freedom, and acquired thereby a new meaning. According to the labour aristocracy theory, at the end of the 19th century bourgeois ideology — in a modified form — succeeded in penetrating the broader sectors of the working class, with the artisan elite joining its ranks, resulting in a clearer demarcation between workers and bourgeoisie.

It is striking that the urban economic structure, the context of most analyses of the working class elite, presents a forceful analogy with the economic situation of Brussels: its national impact, an industry oriented towards a local luxury market, the presence of a national elite and intelligentsia and of many skilled workers, the absence of a homogeneous bourgeoisie (i.e. a large gap between a closed "haute bourgeoisie" and a large number of small entrepreneurs and self-employed people). Indeed, studies of the Brussels labour movement show a certain cooperation between the labour elite and the liberal intelligentsia.

Nevertheless this theory is inadequate on some points: studies relating to the formation of a working class in other European countries point out that the heterogeneity within the working class could not always be reduced to a narrow elite versus the broad mass of workers, but rather that there was a continuity of diverse strata within the working class, each with its own subculture.

Moreover, it has been shown that the absence of a proletarian consciousness was not exclusive to the labour elite. The historian Gareth Stedman JONES (1971) characterized the level of consciousness for the 19th century London "casual poor" as a mingling of violence and reformism and attributed the low level of consciousness of the entire working class in London to the industrial structure of the capital.

In this context it is often argued that an artisan working class that shared the same social origins, culture of work and experiences as its employers — small entrepreneurs — was more easily inclined to identify with the boss, did not experience any class barriers, and held the same values as the masters — including perhaps language values.

Nevertheless, we have noted in Brussels a rather early split between workers and masters due to increasingly conflicting interests, and it is true that the Brussels working class was not quite so singular in its variety.

From the preceding analysis, what questions for further inquiry can we ask about language usage among the Brussels working class in the 19th century? Did the heterogeneous Brussels proletariat have a uniform linguistic attitude? In so far as we can detect relevant lines of division within the working class, the question remains whether or not the dividing lines coincided with a language barrier.

We have noted the possible existence of "ethnic" divisions within the working class: pedlars and immigrants formed an increasingly numerous reserve army of labour that lowered wages and drove up rents. In the first half of the century, the weakest economic sectors held the highest concentration of the dependent poor and operated at the same time as a particular pole of attraction for immigrants.

This compels us to search for other relevant differences (for example in material conditions of life, housing and so on) that could promote different attitudes to language usage.

Beforehand, we should naturally examine how far the eventual boundaries can be reduced to differences in geographic-linguistic recruiting (ethnic sub-culture versus working class solidarity). To what extent can we state, in a contrasting sense that the daily reality of work, home and neighbourhood, demonstrates outwardly visible linguistic differences that are consistent with outward class differences? If so, perhaps an individual consciousness that takes account of the cohesion of linguistic and class boundaries was created, a consciousness with a marked influence on class perceptions and values.

If indeed in mid-19th century Brussels a labour elite enjoyed material well-being and a social identity of its own, then we must ask ourselves if we can in fact couple such values as dignity, self-respect and collective improvement with the habitual practice of French. Moreover, it is still more pertinent to ask if these social forces were strong enough to enforce changes in language usage in the informal sphere.

The presence of a labour aristocracy provides a possible explanation of the broader quantitative impact of the French language in Brussels in the 19th century. Some Belgian historians have regarded the monopoly of the Brussels labour movement by an artisan elite with a particular class perception as the primary reason for the early reformist direction of that movement and for its readiness to shift to the French language. They also emphasize the early appearance of an alliance between an artisan popular movement and left-wing intellectuals. But the labour aristocracy theory falls short as an answer to the important questions of why the shift to French suddenly shot up at the end of the century, and why until that point it had remained stable.

In order to explain the massive Frenchification from the turn of the century onward we must take into account broader processes of socialization, which were so profound and effective that in two to three generations large sectors of the working class shifted through bilingualism to the exclusive practice of French.

A prominent instrument in this transformation was education. The internalization of a dominant system of values through a given language could be transmitted through various layers of the working class by schooling. Given the low school attendance and poor organization of education generally, the workers' child in Brussels before 1880 was able to escape the full impact of the French-language educational system. The reasons for exclusion of workers from education lay in the pull of socio-economic relations and the maintenance of a consciousness of class division. The high level of illiteracy, especially among Dutch-speaking children, and the low level of school attendance, were the consequences of this in Brussels and elsewhere.

The changing needs of capitalism and of the bourgeois state at the end of the 19th century gave an impetus to educational reform designed to acculturate the working classes into bourgeois society. This new approach appeared in Brussels as early as the 1880's, leading to more extensive provisions for education accompanied by a plan for the gradual change over from instruction in the native tongue to completely French-language instruction, the so-called Buls system, after the name of its instigator. That the Buls plan was a tremendous boost to shifts in language usage appears in the following data: an 1880 study of 7 Brussels schools revealed that 80% of the pupils spoke Dutch at home. In 1913 this percentage was already reduced to 56%. Through the permeation of a bourgeois ideology, including a perception of the superiority of the French over the Dutch language, this plan degenerated into a "system of education for the humiliation of Flemish."

We have noted above the possibility of a status-sensitivity among certain sectors or workers. How far can this be equated with a sensitivity to social mobility within the working class?

All studies of the working class in the nineteenth century point out the absence of real social mobility for workers and of a notion of individual social mobility, of "climbing up by one's own bootstraps", in the value system of workers of that era. The evolution of social relations in Brussels points to the poignant impoverishment of the masses of the working population during the 19th century, followed by a slight material improvement as the century drew to its close. This coincided with a growing gap between workers and "petits bourgeois", at least in terms of housing. There was no question of jumping over the class barriers. The only mobility worthy of note was horizontal mobility between different professional groups of workers, still within the working class. Only those workers who had succeeded in accumulating savings over the years were able to start a small business as small shopkeepers or self-employed people and eventually acquiring the status of "petit bourgeois". This course was open in fact almost only to the best paid and best skilled artisans.

The struggle for some material security also expressed itself in the acquisition of one's own home (again, this was restricted to a small stratum of workers, those able to save enough money) or in education and apprenticeships for the children.

That opportunities — however limited — could be differentiated not only on the basis of material strata within the working class, but also in terms of their geographic origins (native or immigrant), creates a specific area of research, too broad for us to explore here.

The class position of workers and its consequences in education (barriers to learning, etc.) and the absence of the notion of "social mobility" in the working class mentality reduce to a minimum the impact of social mobility as a potential factor in the Frenchification of the 19th century Brussels working class. The only significant mobility was downwards, i.e. that of a higher stratum of workers that was absorbed into the working class.

The ideological and linguistic result of this process is not known, and could have worked as well for the preservation as for the loss of language practices: we can formulate the hypothesis of a labour elite seeking to compensate for its loss in material position by affirmation of its social status through its ability to speak French. We can just as easily present the hypothesis that greater social contacts between the former elite and other workers, the cutting away of internal status distinctions within the working class, would lead to the homogenization of old sub-cultures and the mingling of previously divided linguistic entities. Added to other pressures of linguistic socialization, this would result either in Frenchification or the maintenance of Dutch as a first language, partially depending on the linguistic dominance in the particular setting.

II. The "Petite Bourgeoisie"

The connotations surrounding the term "petite bourgeoisie" are varied — the white-collar proletariat of employees, teachers, etc. and the heterogeneous group of small entrepreneurs or independent producers. The importance of this group in the social morphology of Brussels is evident from the large community of employees, small merchants etc. who were settled there and whose numbers increased throughout the century. The analysis of the group in terms of social position and ideological identity is one of the first indications of its importance for the study of the 19th century Brussels language situation. Although employees could be considered a sector of the working class in terms of their relation to the means of production, they themselves relied heavily on their own perception of their status and on their way of life — more bourgeois than the bourgeoisie — and thus developed a consciousness that did not entirely fit with their objective situation.

We must also mention that in the 19th century, lower civil servants were differentiated from the working class by higher earnings and greater job security, more free time and a stronger bond with their employers.

The above factors also clarify the heterogeneity within this group — bank employees often had higher salaries, while many lower civil servants and teachers faced a daily struggle to keep up a respectable way of life within their inadequate income.

Such discrepancies between material situation and consciousness were expressed in their central core of beliefs. Status, individualism, and mobility, elements of a bourgeois ideology, were made into a specific system of values, characterized by a rather rigid version of bourgeois values and an imitative behaviour, acting "as if". Status insecurity and aspirations of mobility could thus explain patterns of consumption, oriented to social recognition ("suitable" household furnishings, wardrobe, servants, cuisine) and an intense, socially isolated family life.

"The aspirations for mobility" in terms of individual social mobility illustrate their individualistic analysis of their own situation: failure and success were experienced as personal shortcomings of victories. The slight chances for social improvement, the difficulties in keeping up bourgeois appearances on a paltry income, shed further light on their aspirations for status "... always essential to allow the satisfaction of ambition that genuine social mobility could not afford to many." (CROSSICK, 1980)

Supposing that there was an analogous situation in Brussels, and referring for that purpose to the findings of an historical study on the struggle of the Brussels Flamingants, we learn that nearly all employees and teachers, in order to keep up the appearance of respectability on their inadequate salaries, were led to spend a considerable part of their income on the rent of a "suitable" dwelling. The menace of impoverishment of this group at the turn of the century had undoubtedly an effect on the mentality of the group of employees in Brussels.

Just as such outer signs of respectability as housing and clothing off-set the constant fear of a steadily approaching threat of poverty, so could language be used as a further affirmation of status. Employees had ample opportunity to discover that material improvements in standards of life in Brussels were restricted through French-language dominance: an educational system that had been totally taken over by French, a French-language administration, French-language economic life, always demanded a sufficient knowledge of French for the employees living in Brussels.

Other groups within the "petite bourgeoisie" such as shopkeepers and small producers also grasped the importance of education for social mobility for their children (which did not yet require great expenditure on their part). This path to social mobility in Brussels had to go through the French language, through French schools. The Brussels "petite bourgeoisie" was indeed a solid support for the dominance of the French language, as has been shown by numerous studies. The importation of Flamingantism in the first half of the 19th century to Brussels by young teachers and employees from Antwerp calls attention to the absence of a native Flemish-language or Flamingant group among "petit bourgeois" intellectuals.

Few members within this group of Flamingant intellectuals of modest social origin and deprived of the vote have analysed the linguistic oppositions in terms of social distinctions.

The conformity of the main body of Brussels employees stimulated and reinforced their cultural break with the working class. Our research into the geographical origins, patterns of housing and marriage ties of employees in a Brussels suburb at mid-century leads us to suppose an analogous situation within the city-limits.

Although shopkeepers and small producers held much the same value system as employees, we ought still to underline the specificity of this group, most evident in the form of greater heterogeneity and stability. Relatively stable and substantial men of commerce as well as small self-employed people locked in struggle against the pull back down into the working classes, and even sub-proletarian pedlars and hawkers who struggled for survival, could be found in this varied social group.

In order to grasp the language practices of such a diffuse group, we would do well to define it in its relations to other classes. That the relations of this sector of the "petite bourgeoisie" with the bourgeoisie and the working class varied according to the material position of those concerned, can readily be inferred from the pattern of relationships sketched above.

In general, we can indeed state that this group was oriented around broad economic activities and had little contact with the upper bourgeoisie. Research into the Brussels as well as the European elite has shown that there was scarcely a "narrow gate" from the "petite bourgeoisie" into the elite. The upper bourgeoisie around the turn of the century sought to narrow this gate further, and created a greater barrier to education than before. Teacher or employee became the highest status attainable for the child of the "petite bourgeoisie".

Downward mobility — i.e. into the working class — remained more feasible than upward. The lowest strata of small commerce or artisan production marked the boundary line between workers and "petite bourgeoisie", and offered mobility for rural immigrants and a Brussels' working class elite, which could with limited capital and minimal education open a small shop, café or one-man business.

Whatever mobility was involved was slight; it seldom led to profound changes in social milieu or social identity and did not always represent an improvement in social status.

Not only economic heterogeneity but also instability typified the perception by these sectors of the "petite bourgeoisie" of their situation. Quite a few shopkeepers and self-employed people were not born into the social milieu they were now part of, or did not long remain in it and children rarely inherited their father's trade.

From this flowed an individualistic interpretation of the achievement of social position as a personal adventure, and a defensive manoeuvre against the constant threat of impoverishment. In Brussels, these attitudes were sharpened by a greater level of activity of home – and large - scale industry, resulting in a greater distance from the bourgeoisie in a material sense and an estrangement from the working class in an ideological sense.

To retain respectability in the face of creditors was scarcely possible, and then only through a more "businesslike" approach in their enterprises, the depression of wages and greater self-exploitation, longer working days and forcing wives and children to work.

Diversity within the commercial and industrial "petite bourgeoisie" also took a social form. A double orientation toward the bourgeoisie as well as toward the working class demonstrated the ambiguity of their position.

Dependent on the bourgeoisie for credit, they lived and worked among and with labourers, who were also their clientele and for whom they often acted as money-lenders. The trend of social contacts varied from weaker to stronger in keeping with the neighbourhood where they lived and worked, their own social origin and that of their spouses. Traders in a working class district had daily experience with workers as clients, neighbours, family members, tenants and debtors. Frequently they played the role of local elite. Since these "petits bourgeois" often lived and worked in the same social sphere, the neighbourhood is a highly important reference point in the study of this group.

We must not idealize this fact — a shared social life could on the contrary be the source of great conflicts. Feelings of understanding and sympathy could quickly shift to spite and the fear of proletarianization. The protection against this was often the insistence on minor points of respectability — such as the usage of French in Brussels. Ambiguous relations underline ambiguous values and attitudes, even towards language. Did the "petite bourgeoisie" in 19th century Brussels provide an impetus for the shift to French?

The aspirations for social mobility and for a respected position, conformity and the differentiation from the working class are examples towards a greater integration of bourgeois values, despite (or thanks to) a growing material distance from the "haute bourgeoisie" and a continual struggle against impoverishment. The political integration of this group can be illustrated through the lowering of the property qualification for voting rights in 1848, the multiple voting system and its role as a political buffer at the end of the century. If we combine this with the importance the "petite bourgeoisie" attached to the French-language Brussels schools as an instrument for mobility, then the supposition acquires substance. We would then have to see if these findings were reflected in the material situation of the Brussels "petit bourgeois" i.e. such as the presence of servants, etc. and if they could be differentiated by familial and neighbourhood surroundings. We will take the geographical-linguistic recruitment of this group as a starting point for their shift in language usage.

III. The bourgeoisie

The concentration of the economy in one place with an increasingly national scope and with the capacity to carry the load of national finance had important consequences for the composition of the Brussels bourgeoisie.

The centering of political, administrative and financial functions in Brussels created a local social elite with a national radius, structured around three closely inter-connected poles, the palace and the nobility, the higher levels of the administration and government, and the world of high finance.

The personal links within this highly select group are well illustrated by the Société Générale Bank. A few members of the bourgeoisie held the reins of political, economic and financial power. Bound by family ties and few in number, they arranged for political and financial interests themselves and, as it were, formed a single entity. We have noted a somewhat early assimilation of bourgeois fortunes into the nobility and a gradual restructuring of this elite to the benefit of the increasing preponderence of the "nouveaux riches" over the course of the 19th century. This group grew richer throughout the century and was increasingly distant from the "petite bourgeoisie" and the proletariat.

On the basis of these observations we can already develop a few hypotheses on the language attitudes of the Brussels bourgeoisie. The early pattern of cooperation between bourgeois on the way up and a still powerfully entrenched nobility was illustrated by their sharing of power within the Société Générale and the Banque de Belgique. The bourgeoisie reinforced their still weak position by taking up the cultural habits of the nobility, including the wielding of French as the language of culture. In this way the gap between the bourgeoisie and the rest of the population widened futher. The closed nature of the elite suggests analogous effects on language. The climb into the Brussels elite was never quick for "nouveaux riches" but on the contrary took up to three generations since it required the building up of a material power base and the right sort of marital alliances before a share in political and economic decision making was allowed. It was therefore not enough to attain a suitable material position in order to be included in the "haute bourgeoisie"; it was essential as well to display the outer signs of bourgeois status, to show that one was familiar with manners, ways of life, values, culture ... and language. The acculturation process, requiring a few generations, thus assured an ideological homogeneity.

Geographical origins could be used as well to restrict access into the bourgeoisie, so that recruitment was restricted by preference to natives, and only occasionally open to an already acclimatized newcomer. It is clear that the narrow gate into the Brussels elite could only be opened with the French "open sesame", although this was certainly no problem for the vast majority of the rich: The bourgeoisie in Brussels and Flanders had accepted French as the sole language of culture for decades.

What was the relationship between the elite and the intelligentsia, those who through interests, ideology and ways of life were linked with the bourgeoisie and who contributed to the supervision of the state and ideology? Several factors suggest that the cultural and social unity of these useful classes with the higher reaches of the bourgeoisie included unity of language: the alliance between intellectuals and bourgeoisie in the revolution of 1830, accentuated in its linguistic aspects by the Frenchification of the administration, education and the courts, the frequent organizational links between the two groups, to take only the role of lawyers, magistrates, high-level employees of the Société Générale, the impact of exiled French intellectuals in the Brussels bourgeois society.

Through our research we shall try to discover if fractions within the bourgeoisie were clearly delineated by graphical-linguistic recruitment and language usage and if these strata were compatible with economic and social sub-strata.

The power of a foreign bourgeoisie and its degree of integration into the Brussels elite also merits further study, as does the potential concern of the still ascendent bourgeoisie for linguistic diversity.

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ELEMENTS DE REFLEXION SUR L'ANALYSE DES ASPECTS SOCIETAUX DES CONTACTS DES LANGUES

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Résumé / Abstract

The main topic of this paper is concerned with the difficulty of connecting effectively individual and collective dimensions in research on linguistic behaviour. A recently developed interdisciplinary project is presented in summary form. Its main feature is to use simultaneously a network approach and a systemic frame with an interlocking model.

L'intégration des multiples dimensions en oeuvre dans les phénomènes de contact des langues est l'objet d'une attention particulière depuis quelques années de la part des chercheurs qui travaillent dans ce domaine. Ceci se manifeste surtout par une volonté d'articulation de niveaux d'analyse baptisés, peut-être un peu sommairement, "macro" et "micro".

La source de ces efforts doit se trouver dans le sentiment d'insatisfaction réelle, sinon de frustration, provenant des limites étroites de la portée explicative des résultats obtenus. Les techniques d'observation se sont considérablement raffinées, les méthodes d'analyse se sont à la fois perfectionnées et diversifiées, mais les connaissances ainsi acquises demeurent parcellaires. Or, s'il faut "connaître particulièrement les parties" suivant l'expression de Pascal, celui-ci précise qu'il tient "impossible de connaître les parties sans connaître le tout".

Dès 1950, PIAGET est très conscient de cette nécessité et précise:

> "Chaque rapport social constitue (...) une totalité en elle-même, productive de caractères nouveaux et transformant l'individu en sa structure mentale. De l'interaction entre deux individus déjà à la totalité constituée par l'ensemble des rapports entre les individus d'une même société, il y a donc continuité et, en définitive, la totalité ainsi conçue apparaît comme consistant non pas en une somme d'individus ni en une réalité superposée aux individus, mais en un système d'interactions modifiant ces derniers en leur strucre même." (PIAGET, 1950)

Malgré la continuité affirmée dans ce texte entre les rapports interindividuels et les rapports sociaux, il faut bien constater que c'est la dichotomie société/individu, "macro/micro" qui s'est imposée dans les réflexions sur ce thème. Il est évident que ce partage correspond aux frontières disciplinaires traditionnelles, qu'il semble donc "naturel", aller de soi, et qu'il bénéficie d'un consensus qui reflète probablement plus les habitudes mentales des scientifiques que le résultat d'un choix délibéré.

Or, il est possible de se demander si une partie, au moins, des difficultés de l'intégration macro/micro ne provient pas de la manière même de poser le problème. Piaget invite à concevoir la totalité "en un système d'interactions" par opposition à la sommation des individus et aux réalités "superposées". Le seul fait d'accepter en prémisse une nature individuelle ou sociétale des études ne conduit-il pas nécessairement à l'échec? Je ne peux que poser la question. Mais il me semble aussi que les tentatives faites pour sortir de cette voie devraient être encouragées.

Dans ce sens, un effort particulier a été fait ces dernières années au C.I.R.B. pour intégrer les multiples dimensions disciplinaires d'un vaste projet de recherche sur la Variation du comportement langagier lorsque deux langues sont en contact (PRUJINER ET AL., 1984). Cette expérience, même si elle est restée inachevée à cause de difficultés de financement, m'apparaît digne d'intérêt par les recherches conceptuelles et méthodologiques qu'elle a entraînées.

L'objet de cette étude offrait un terrain particulièrement propice à l'élaboration d'une démarche articulant plusieurs disciplines. Tout d'abord par la précision de cet objet: le comportement langagier de deux individus dans une situation de communication. Ensuite, par le caractère familier de cet objet pour les chercheurs des multiples disciplines impliquées dans le projet: sociolinguistique, psycholinguistique, anthropologie, sociologie, communicologie, science politique et droit. Chacun était donc capable d'apporter une démarche, une manière d'aborder la réalité observable. Et celle-ci n'était ni "macro" ni "micro", mais relevait de la totalité dont elle devait révéler la complexité des interactions. Du moins tel était l'objectif qui réunissait les chercheurs.

Malgré tout, il faut bien reconnaître que, les pesanteurs disciplinaires aidant, un clivage eut tendance à se former entre "macros" et "micros", au point de structurer un moment les réunions des participants. Et les difficultés de coordination révélèrent de graves problèmes de compréhension réciproque, les pires quiproquos surgissant avec l'usage des termes identiques dotés de sens très différents dans les diverses disciplines. Il est d'ailleurs surprenant de constater à quel point la formation scientifique des chercheurs les entraîne (au sens propre du terme) à douter du sérieux et de la valeur scientifique des démarches qui ne s'inscrivent pas dans leur propre paradigme, alors même qu'ils sont engagés dans un processus pluridisciplinaire et qu'ils sont conscients des efforts particuliers que cela implique.

Pour parvenir à un véritable dialogue, il a fallu que chacun accepte le fait que l'objet de la recherche n'était pas seulement celui qui était défini par ses propres conceptions scientifiques (disciplinaires) auquel les autres participants devaient apporter un simple complément, mais une réalité complexe sur laquelle aucun ne pouvait prétendre à une mainmise paradigmatique. C'est ainsi que nous avons découvert, comme le dit Bachelard, que: "l'objet nous désigne plus que nous ne le désignons". Ce même auteur ayant aussi affirmé que "le simple est toujours le simplifié", il n'y a pas d'inconvénients à reconnaître que l'idéal d'une articulation opérationnelle simple entre les dimensions sociétales et individuelles fut progressivement abandonné au profit d'un ensemble beaucoup plus diversifié, bien qu'étroitement structuré, d'approches capables de relier concrètement, méthodologiquement, les divers types de préoccupations scientifiques qui se manifestaient.

Un élément important de cette intégration multidimensionnelle fut fourni par la notion de réseau. Comme cet aspect a déjà fait l'objet d'autres études dans ce volume, et de développements importants dans l'ouvrage de HAMERS et BLANC (1983), je me contente de le signaler, en notant cependant que son rôle apparaît fondamental pour la compréhension du mode d'influence réciproque qu'il faut analyser entre les règles sociales — qui sont l'objet d'étude privilégié des recherches "macros" — et les comportements individualisés — qui retiennent l'attention des chercheurs "micros".

Mais le réseau ne suffit pas pour changer cette relation déficiente entre les schémas explicatifs des études sociales et l'usage de leurs résultats que déplore BREITBORDE (1983):

> "Much recent productive social anthropological scholarship on bilingual code switching is part of a tradition that treats the social system and social relationship only as 'background information', the main concern being the personal calculations of individuals in their language-use decisions."

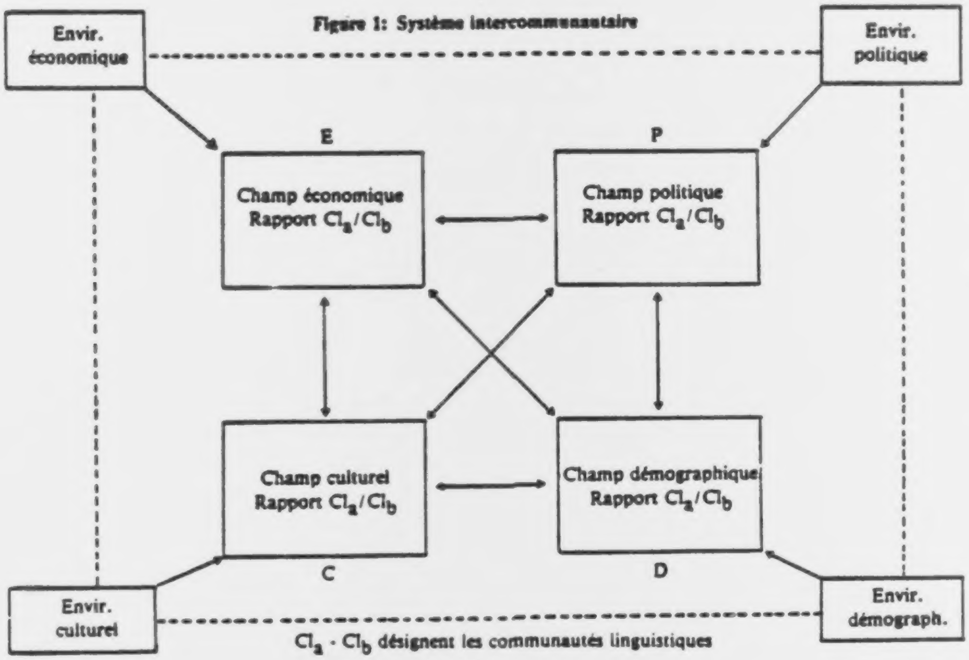
Une manière de parvenir à intégrer ce qui est dû à l'influence collective, organisationnelle, dans les comportements est de décomposer les diverses facettes de ce qui détermine la situation concrète des locuteurs dans l'organisation sociale. C'est ce qui a conduit à la conception d'un emboîtement de systèmes en interactions étroites pour remplacer la description globalisante des dimensions collectives dont les résultats sont insuffisants.

Toute situation de communication s'inscrit nécessairement dans le réseau de communication des interlocuteurs. Ce terme de réseau désigne tout autant le réseau focalisé sur chaque individu (et c'est dans ce sens qu'il est utilisé dans le texte du projet) que l'organisation informelle, collective, dans laquelle s'insère l'activité communicative (LEMIEUX, 1982). C'est cette dimension qui constitue le système organisationnel, comprenant à la fois les organisations informelles et les institutions. Ces dernières introduisent un rapport hiérarchique spécifique dans la situation de communication dont il faut évaluer l'impact sur le comportement langagier. Ceci oblige à procéder à une analyse de chaque institution pour pouvoir en dégager les lignes d'autorité. Ce type de recherche ne semble pas encore très développé.

A l'inverse, une situation informelle ne comporte pas de position d'autorité spécifique et laisse donc le champ libre aux autres sources de hiérarchisation, provenant de la société elle-même. Nos sociétés sont en effet hiérarchisées, cet aspect faisant l'objet d'importantes divergences d'analyse en sociologie et en sciences politiques. Il semble qu'une classification sociale bien adaptée à l'explicitation des comportements culturels et donc langagiers est celle qui a été élaborée par BOURDIEU (1979), probablement parce qu'elle a été plus directement conçue à cette fin. Il en ressort clairement que la situation de classe des interlocuteurs a des effets importants sur leur comportements langagiers. Ce champ de recherche est beaucoup plus développé que celui des institutions, mais plus par les sociolinguistes, me semble-t-il, que par les autres chercheurs.

Enfin, la spécificité sociale d'une situation de contact des langues tient à la présence, au sein d'une même société, de plus d'une communauté linguistique. Le rapport de pouvoir entre ces communautés ne peut manquer d'influencer les comportements langagiers de leurs membres. Pour l'analyse de ces rapports, nous avons élaboré un système intercommunautaire intégrant les rapports intercommunautaires dans quatre champs: démographique, culturel, économique et politique.

Figure 1: Système intercommunautaire


Envir. économique
Envir. politique
E
P
Champ économique Rapport Cl_a/Cl_b
Champ politique Rapport Cl_a/Cl_b
Champ culturel Rapport Cl_a/Cl_b
Champ démographique Rapport Cl_a/Cl_b
C
D
Envir. culturel
Envir. démograph.

Cl_a - Cl_b désignent les communautés linguistiques

---- liens non étudiés

—— liens étudiés

La validité de ce modèle sera testée par un projet qui est en cours, intitulé Les enjeux juridiques et sociopolitiques des conflits linguistiques dans quatre provinces canadiennes. En effet, le Canada offre une grande diversité de situation de rapports entre les communautés anglophones et francophones. Les quatre provinces où se sont produits les plus importants conflits linguistiques ces dernières années, Nouveau-Brunswick, Québec, Ontario et Manitoba, mettent en jeu des rapports intercommunautaires très différents d'une province à l'autre. Le terrain semble donc propice à une évaluation de l'impact de cette dimension intercommunautaire.

Mais les raisons financières que tout le monde connaît empêchent de mener une enquête directement sur le comportement langagier des locuteurs canadiens. Il ne sera donc pas possible d'établir un lien direct entre cet aspect de la dimension collective et les choix individualisés, comme le proposait le projet intégré sur la Variation. Est-ce alors un retour au confinement sinon disciplinaire, du moins "macro"? Le danger existe certainement. Pour l'éviter, il faut maintenir une perspective de complémentarité, c'est-à-dire ne pas perdre de vue dans les choix d'analyses et la présentation des résultats ce qui est important dans l'interaction des systèmes emboîtés, jusqu'au réseau. Alors les résultats obtenus pourront être utilisés directement par les autres chercheurs, et non comme une simple toile de fond.

L'enquête doit donc produire une évaluation des rapports intercommunautaires dans les quatre champs (démographique, économique, culturel et politique) déterminés par le cadre théorique, et ce pour les communautés anglophones et francophones de chacune des quatre provinces. Cette enquête est surtout documentaire, à partir des nombreuses données disponibles mais dispersées, mais elle sera complétée par des entrevues, surtout pour l'évaluation du champ politique. Le rapport démographique s'appuiera nécessairement surtout sur les chiffres de Statistique Canada. Les données économiques proviendront aussi majoritairement de cette source. Par contre, les indices culturels seront fournis par les ministères de l'éducation et les relevés concernant la production et la consommation des médias. Enfin, les données politiques seront tirées des multiples textes disponibles, des enquêtes et rapports antérieurs ainsi que des entrevues avec les acteurs principaux.

Les résultats obtenus seront alors analysés, comparés et mis en relation avec un étude juridique de la situation de chacune de ces communautés, à l'aide d'une typologie fondée sur le degré de pouvoir d'une communauté sur sa langue. Nous espérons obtenir alors des distorsions qui pourraient être explicatives à l'égard des enjeux des conflits linguistiques observés.

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COMMENTS

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I was glad that Alain PRUJINER mentioned a theme that was raised at the beginning of the Conference but that has not resurfaced since — the difficulties of making a clear division between a macrological analysis and a micrological analysis. We need to make binary divisions, in order to impose and order on what we are trying to analyse; but once made, they always have to be rejected. The binary categories very often become two poles at either end of a continuum.

This can cause problems when our research is interdisciplinary; it is not always possible for analysts who have been trained in one discipline both to appreciate the findings arising from research carried out within other disciplines and to evaluate the different analytical frameworks used to generate the findings. We are most likely to be blinkered in our interpretation of research results by the analytical categories through which we perceive the data, when the categories are part of a discipline in which we have not been trained.

Sociolinguists have sometimes been guilty of this in the categories that we have taken over from sociology. There is a tendency to see the categories as having an independent status — to indulge in what SMITH (1984) terms "pyschological hypostatization". Categories such as age, sex and social class are taken for granted, and their correlations with language use are simply described, with little or no attempt at explanation. PRUJINER's approach, however, goes well beyond mere description; he seems to be free of all methodological "blinkers".

Machteld de METSENAERE's paper also aimed to explain the relationship between language and social class rather than to simply describe it. She, too, transcends a binary distinction — the Saussurean division into diachronic linguistics and synchronic linguistics, which linguists at one time were trained to keep strictly apart. Nowadays the distinction is less often adhered to, and ROMAINE (1982) has even coined a new term — "sociohistorical linguistics" — which perhaps fits METSENAERE's work, since it uses what we know about language today in order to interpret the past.

I was interested in what METSENAERE told us about the important role played by the petite bourgeoisie in language shift in Brussels. There are surely parallels to be drawn here with the role of the lower middle classes in the spread of linguistic changes in New York and in Norwich (LABOV, 1975; TRUDGILL, 1974). She mentions three social classes, and I wonder whether the working classes and the bourgeoisie represent two poles — whether these are the binary categories that it seems we cannot do without. It seems, though, here as so often elsewhere, that it is what is between the two poles that has the greatest explanatory power.

An important point raised by both papers, therefore, is that although we may need to categorize the world in terms of black and white as a starting point for our analyses, it may be ultimately more profitable to focus on the shades of grey that lie between.

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La communication de M. de METSENAERE présente un intérêt unique dans un colloque qui se veut multidisciplinaire et entend traiter du contact des langues aux niveaux macro et micrologique. En effet, c'est la seule communication qui aborde le sujet dans une perspective historique appliquée à la situation qui prévalait à Bruxelles au 19e siècle et qui examine l'usage des langues et le lien existant entre les classes sociales. Enfin l'histoire par un historien! J'avoue cependant que ma compétence en méthodologie historique est souverainement limitée et que je serai assez laconique dans mes commentaires d'autant que même si j'ai toujours considéré l'histoire comme une discipline-mère, j'ai toujours été désemparé par sa fluidité. Souvent comparée à la mer, l'histoire est considérée comme le mensonge même, puisqu'on ne peut appréhender que sa surface avec ses "reflets changeants".

M. de METSENAERE veut donc établir "a link between language and social class". Pour ce faire elle décrit quels sont les groupes en présence tout en établissant à grands traits leur status social. Le risque d'établir des stéréotypes est grand; elle évite la caricature. Elle tente ensuite d'identifier les relations de ces groupes en présence avec la langue. Elle s'attarde à décrire le rôle de l'école et des autres cellules de la société dans cette problématique. Elle insiste sur le rôle de la langue dans l'avancement dans l'échelle sociale.

M. de METSENAERE cite certaines données pour appuyer ses avancés. Nous aurions souhaité connaître les moyens d'accès à ces documents (pp. 11, 12, 15). Ces données proviennent-elles de témoignages, d'archives ou d'enquêtes? Il nous aurait été plus facile de voir expliciter la formulation des hypothèses de travail. Non qu'elles soient absentes du projet de recherche mais la communication ne nous les présente que d'une façon implicite. Peut-être aurait-il fallu se reporter aux travaux antérieurs de M. de METSENAERE?

La notion de socialisation est une notion galvaudée. Nous ne savons pas trop à quoi elle se réfère dans le texte. Par exemple, à la page 6, la notion de socialisation se réfère à la francisation ou francification par l'école, cette dernière étant vue comme conduisant les enfants néerlandais vers une assimilation linguistique. Or, dans le paragraphe suivant, l'auteur affirme que la fréquentation scolaire des petits néerlandais était très basse. N'y a-t-il pas ici contradiction?

Etant un profane et ne connaissant pas toutes le références historiques belges, j'aurais apprécié que M. de METSENAERE nous dise succinctement ce qu'était le système BULS.

Ces quelques remarques n'enlèvent rien à la qualité, et à la profondeur de la recherche de M. de METSENAERE. Elles sont sans doute le fruit de mon extrême limitation dans un domaine aussi fascinant que l'histoire.

La communication d'Alain PRUJINER présente un cadre général et un modèle d'intégration disciplinaire dans la recherche sur le contact des langues. A. PRUJINER cherche à appliquer ce modèle à la situation de quatre provinces canadiennes. Il favorise une approche philosophique qui se veut une ouverture vers les sciences de l'homme. Cette approche nous semble rafraîchissante mais également troublante pour les profanes que nous sommes. J'avoue avoir été un peu dérouté par une conceptualisation qui semble assez générale pour être universelle ou trop générale pour être discriminante.

Quant au modèle, on se demande pourquoi avoir choisi BOURDIEU. On ne voit pas très bien le lien entre ce modèle élaboré ailleurs et la situation des quatre provinces canadiennes lorsqu'on sait que le cadre social de ces quatre provinces et leurs visées sont différents les uns des autres.

SECTION IV

L'enseignement des langues secondes standard aux minorités culturelles.

The teaching of standard second languages to cultural minorities.

PROBLEMES DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES LANGUES SECONDES STANDARD POUR LES MINORITES CULTURELLES

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Résumé / Abstract

In most industrialized countries, especially in urban areas with a heavy concentration of cultural minorities, teaching a standard second language to schoolchildren is a misleading concept and an ambiguous enterprise. In a country which fosters official unilingualism, schoolchildren have to learn a standard second language as if it were a mother tongue or a first language. Inserted in a group forcing the use of the officially-sanctioned language as the norm for communication, schoolchildren are exposed to teaching techniques and learning strategies designed by teachers of L1 for L1 teaching and learning, with teaching material designed for L1 courses and curriculum. On the other hand, to speak of mother tongue teaching in schools with over 60 percent of the pupils speaking a dialect of a second language poses as many problems. The author analyzes both situations and identifies clues for future research in a field which he identifies as "la didactique interculturelle".

Il y eut un temps où la didactique des langues concentrait ses efforts sur la solution de problèmes beaucoup plus unitaires, plus isolés, plus atomisés, comme par exemple l'introduction de l'oral avant l'écrit, la compréhension écrite, l'usage de la traduction, des dialogues, de l'image dans l'enseignement des langues secondes, que ceux que nous pouvons identifier aujourd'hui. Il est vrai qu'à cette époque la didactique des langues vivait sous l'aile protectrice soit de la pédagogie traditionnelle, soit de la psychologie, soit de la linguistique. Ce n'est que depuis les trente dernières années que la didactique des langues a élargi son objet d'étude et devant la complexité des problèmes qu'elle avait à traiter, a pris position au carrefour d'un très grand nombre de disciplines avec lesquelles elle entretient des rapports d'égalité, de fécondation réciproque, tout en développant ses méthodes propres et en établissant ses priorités.

Il est sûr, qu'à la différence de bien d'autres disciplines, la didactique des langues s'inscrit d'emblée dans l'interdisciplinarité et ne saurait fournir à ceux qui la pratiquent une complète satisfaction ni des solutions adéquates aux problèmes identifiés si elle ne privilégiait qu'une seule approche, qu'une seule méthodologie, en somme une vue partielle et partiale d'un problème. Voilà pourquoi elle puise à la source et s'inspire de la linguistique, de la psychologie, de la sociolinguistique, de l'ethnographie et de l'ethnologie, de la démolinguistique, de la psychologie sociale, de l'anthropologie, de l'histoire, etc.; elle croit pouvoir mieux trouver ainsi des réponses à ses interrogations, pouvoir mieux analyser à partir de paramètres différents toutes les composantes des problèmes.

Il faut admettre que la question qui est soumise ce matin à notre examen n'est pas facile à circonscrire. Chaque terme de la proposition suscite quantité de mises au point, de distinguos, que la situation du contact des langues et des cultures dans tous les états du monde contribue à façonner, à modifier au gré des phénomènes migratoires et des déplacements de masses humaines. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que la notion de langue seconde est devenue une notion éclatée pour l'enseignement aux enfants d'âge scolaire dans la plupart des pays industrialisés et surtout dans les zones urbaines à fortes concentrations de minorités culturelles. Enseigner les langues secondes à des enfants d'âge scolaire dans un pays qui pratique un unilinguisme officiel équivaut pour des minorités culturelles à apprendre une langue seconde "légitime" ou standard comme langue maternelle, avec une population qui a cette langue comme langue maternelle, avec des techniques didactiques et des stratégies d'apprentissage appartenant à l'arsenal utilisé par des professeurs de langue maternelle et avec du matériel didactique conçu pour des cours de langue maternelle.

Depuis l'adoption d'une certaine législation linguistique au Québec faisant du français la langue officielle de cette province et faisant obligation à tous les immigrés allophones de s'intégrer à l'école francophone (les anglophones conservant leur propre système scolaire en anglais), donc depuis l'adoption de la loi 101, le 26 août 1977, le Québec a été témoin de la croissance rapide du nombre d'élèves immigrés fréquentant les écoles francophones, d'une très grande diversité des clientèles actuelles, de la nécessité d'un effort accru de réflexion et de recherche consacré à cette problématique nouvelle se précisant au cours des deux ou trois dernières années. C'est tout le problème de l'intégration scolaire des immigrés qui se pose, de la définition de l'orientation des programmes de la classe dite "d'accueil" (QUEBEC FRANCAIS, 1984). Il ne s'agit plus d'enseignement des langues secondes standard mais de didactique des classes pluri-ethniques, c'est-à-dire plurilingues et pluriculturelles et on devrait même ajouter pluri-dialectales.

La scolarisation en général et l'enseignement des langues secondes "légitimes" à des minorités culturelles n'est pas une question marginale ni temporaire dans des agglomérations urbaines comme Londres, New-York, Paris, Toronto et Montréal. Dans cette dernière ville par exemple, on retrouve maintenant des enfants néo-québécois dans toutes les écoles (262). Dans l'ensemble des élèves inscrits au secteur francophone de la Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal (CECM) en 1984, plus de 20% sont néo-québécois. Pour quelque

25 écoles de cette commission scolaire, le taux d'enfants d'immigrés dépasse 25%. Dans quelques écoles, ce taux atteint 70%, 80% et 90%. Par exemple, à l'école Lambert-Closse, où nos collègues de l'Université de Montréal, Michel Pagé et Gilles Primeau, mènent une recherche depuis deux ans, le taux dépasse 65% (PAGE, 1984).

C'est la même situation, mais ici reflétant le point de vue de l'enseignant de langue maternelle — ce qui atteste le fait que pour la population d'âge scolaire de certains pays la notion de langue seconde standard n'a plus de sens précis pas plus que celle de langue maternelle et que la réalité s'étale sur une sorte de continuum — point de vue qu'exprimait au Congrès mondial de linguistique appliquée tenu à Montréal en août 1978, le professeur Harold ROSEN de l'Université de Londres en des termes que comprennent très bien les enseignants des classes "d'accueil" au Québec, classes à forte densité de minorité culturelle:

> "In addition all over the world there are teachers of children of recent immigrations. In countries like Britain they have brought a linguistic wealth into the schools — Asian, African, Mediterranean languages and others, as well as a wide variety of Carribean dialects. The armchair view of the schools' responsabilities might well be that children should be taught the officially-sanctioned mother tongue and when sufficiently proficient, delivered to the mother tongue teacher, certified as fit to be taught. The reality is totaly different. Thus in one and the same classroom period called "English", can be found vernacular speakers of all kinds being taught by a teacher who was never trained to deal with the situation. The dramatic nature of this diversity can be exemplified by some research we have caried out recently in large inner-London secondary schools:
>
> - 11% spoke an overseas dialect of English, mostly Carribeans;
> - 7% spoke a language other than English;
> - 63% spoke London English (of whom 50% were "full London");
> - 2% spoke a non-London but Great Britain based dialect;
> - 16% spoke "standard".
>
> But notice amongst those allocated as English speakers 10.4% also spoke a language other than English and 4.9% spoke an overseas dialect of English. The number of languages in our sample so far is 53 and in one first year group in one school there were speakers of 28 languages. 8.4% of all pupils could either read and write a

> language other than English or read one. When we look at separate schools we find one school in which 60.7% of the pupils speak either an overseas dialect or a second language, another in which the speakers of standard were as few as 1.4%".

Et le professeur Rosen de conclure: "These figures demonstrate that to speak of mother tongue teaching in that context is not misleading; it is absurd" (ROSEN, 1981).

Aussi absurde devrait-on dire de l'enseignement des langues secondes "légitimes" ou standard puisque les situations d'enseignement varient de pays en pays et la didactique des langues doit s'adapter au fil du continuum de cette diversité linguistique que sont les classes multilingues, multiculturelles et multidialectales. Le seul point de rencontre entre les didacticiens, les enseignants et les linguistes c'est ce concensus issu de l'identification des problèmes communs aux populations scolaires appartenant aux minorités ethno-culturelles.

Le problème majeur découle de ce concensus. L'opinion règne en maître et non les faits. Dans la plupart des cas, sans avoir effectué la recherche adéquate, sans avoir évalué ou mesuré l'impact ou le rôle négatif ou positif de tel ou tel facteur mis en cause, on a surtout conclu aux effets négatifs des éléments d'intervention et de situation didactiques identifiés. Les jugements de valeur non fondés sont trop souvent monnaie courante et une recherche expérimentale pourrait semer le doute chez certains et venir, soit confirmer les bases de ce concensus, soit les nuancer ou soit tout simplement les infirmer.

Quoiqu'il en soit, et je dois ici battre ma coulpe publiquement, la plupart des parties intéressées et surtout les didacticiens, continuent de diagnostiquer presque quotidiennement les problèmes de l'enseignement des langues secondes alors que dans la grande majorité des cas ces diagnostics ne s'appuient que sur une "infinitude" de résultats de recherche ou d'évaluation attestés. En (mauvais) exemple je me citerai d'abord à la barre des témoins: En 1982, à l'occasion de cette vaste rencontre internationale qu'a constitué le congrès "Langues et Société" à Québec et qui avait été organisé par le Conseil de la langue française et l'Association québécoise des professeurs de français (AQPF), j'avais rapidement identifié certains problèmes vécus dans les classes d'accueil et de francisation québécoises en ces termes:

> "Quant aux classes d'accueil et aux classes de francisation au primaire, nous avons la prétention, nous Québécois, de donner l'exemple dans ce domaine. Il est peut-être vrai que nous avons mis en place des structures uniques dont le but est de permettre à l'enfant francophone de pouvoir s'intégrer, sans trop de difficulté, au système scolaire du Québec. Le français dans les classes

d'accueil devrait être un français de transition. Il demeure encore trop souvent un français langue seconde! Nombreux sont les problèmes à régler dans ce secteur où la clientèle augmente théoriquement, où on identifie quotidiennement des lacunes sérieuses au plan des ressources humaines, au plan du matériel didactique, au plan des programmes. Les enseignants qui y sont affectés ont une formation insuffisante pour ce type de classe; certains manquent de motivation, cet enseignement leur étant imposé parce qu'ils sont en disponibilité. Les commissions scolaires improvisent et manquent de leadership; elles ne fournissent pas d'encadrement pédagogique pour les enseignants eux-mêmes. Quant au nouveau programme d'études du primaire, français, classe d'accueil et classe de francisation, Ministère de l'Education du Québec 1982, version février 1982, l'AQPF a chargé un comité d'en faire l'analyse et un rapport a été remis à sa présidente en juin 1982. La principale conclusion s'énonce comme suit: "Nous croyons que, dans sa forme actuelle, le programme des classes d'accueil pour le primaire, version 1982, est inacceptable et ne saurait convenir ni aux enseignants, ni aux enseignés, surtout au niveau auquel il s'adresse" (AQPF, 1982). Et plus loin les auteurs du rapport justifient: "D'un dogmatisme dénoncé, on est passé à un nouveau dogmatisme. Si le Ministère imposait ce programme, il faudrait reprendre les aspects théoriques, recommencer les modules lecture et écriture, réviser les actes de parole en fonction de la démarche préconisée, abandonner la prétention de 'créer' une grammaire et abandonner le lexique" (AQPF, 1982).

Les classes d'accueil sont des points névralgiques de la nouvelle politique linguistique du Québec. Le Ministère de l'Education du Québec doit accorder toute son attention aux critiques formulées, car c'est dans ces classes que se joue l'avenir de la société québécoise. C'est grâce à ces classes que les Québécois francophones montreront qu'ils ont une volonté d'accueillir de façon ouverte, généreuse, respectueuse et efficace les écoliers non francophones et perfectionner cet accueil avec un grand souci de professionnalisme. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si certains citoyens expriment des critiques sévères car ils ont à coeur l'épanouissement de tous les Québécois" (LAFORGE, 1984).

Tous les problèmes que j'avais signalés ce jour-là ont tous été identifiés d'une façon ou de l'autre par des sources diverses, par des enquêtes maison, par des rapports d'experts. Des enquêtes récentes auprès de certains professeurs de langues secondes semblent confirmer ce que laissait entendre le rapport de l'AQPF en 1982, à savoir que l'un des obstacles majeurs à l'efficacité de l'enseignement des langues secondes "légitimes" ou standard à des minorités culturelles réside dans le fossé qui s'est creusé entre les enseignants et les théoriciens, entre les didacticiens et les practiciens. Les théories socio-linguistiques et psycho-linguistiques, linguistiques, ethnologiques ou anthropologiques sont demeurées livresques; les résultats des travaux de recherche et des enquêtes ont été mal digérés par le corps enseignant et insuffisamment adaptés ou actualisés au niveau de la formation des enseignants, du matériel didactique et de la salle de classe par les didacticiens.

Bien sûr, disent-ils, la situation antérieure n'était guère meilleure puisqu'elle ne mettait l'accent que sur l'acquisition d'une compétence linguistique alors que de nouvelles notions qui contiennent autant de bon grain que d'ivraie, des notions comme centration sur l'apprenant, analyse des besoins, compétence de communication, comportements langagiers, actes de parole, Niveau-Seuil, documents authentiques ... et j'en passe, contribuent à semer le désarroi chez les enseignants de langues secondes puisque chacun dit comprendre la "doctrine" alors qu'il ne semble pas exister d'unité d'ensemble pour faire passer dans les interventions didactiques diversifiées le fruit de cette conceptualisation dont on pourrait encore attendre les retombées mirifiques.

Dans un rapport resté inédit et confidentiel, à la suite d'une mission effectuée au Québec pour le compte du Conseil de la langue française, le professeur M.L. Rouquette de l'Université Paul-Valéry de Montpellier stigmatise la situation présente du français, langue seconde, au Québec, en des termes qui vont dans ce sens. Permettez-moi de citer certains passages de ce rapport:

> "2. Les moyens didactiques mis en oeuvre sont très divers, parfois même contradictoires ou conflictuels: il n'y a en aucune manière de politique didactique cohérente. Les diverses institutions ont une très grande autonomie dans le choix des méthodes et des contenus" (p. 2).

> "3. Le recrutement des professeurs de français n'étant pas normalisé, leur formation initiale est de qualité très variable et parfois insuffisante. En outre, leur perfectionnement (formation continue) n'est pas régulièrement assuré et dépend généralement d'un acte volontaire de leur part" (p. 3).

> "4. Il arrive souvent que les professeurs aménagent le matériel didactique ou même le constituent, pour ne pas dire qu'ils l'improvisent: le matériel "maison" prolifère littéralement, sans qu'aucun contrôle soit exercé sur ses justifications, ses fondements, et son efficacité" (p. 2).

> "7. On constate d'importants effets de mode qui se traduisent par l'adoption rapide d'innovations peu assurées ou mal fondées, comme par exemple le français dit fonctionnel ou "l'approche communicative" ou encore la suggestopédie. Il s'ensuit une véritable dérive pédagogique d'où est absente toute réflexion à caractère fondamental" (p. 3).

> "9. Les conceptions méthodologiques les plus claires et les plus opérationnelles se trouvent dans le secteur des entreprises: c'est là qu'on intègre le mieux les exigences de la forme et les nécessités de la communication, la qualité et l'efficacité; c'est également là qu'on rencontre un souci permanent de l'évaluation effective des actions entreprises..." (p. 3).

Ces jugements sévères de la part d'un observateur étranger, donc impartial et qui a interrogé surtout des administrateurs pendant deux semaines, se trouvent curieusement confirmés à tous les niveaux, même de la part d'un conseiller pédagogique de la CECM, ce qui devrait renforcer le concensus et rendre la nécessité d'une recherche en profondeur plus évidente. Selon ce conseiller pédagogique on s'éloigne peu à peu de l'époque où dans les classes d'accueil de presque toutes les commissions scolaires, les responsables pédagogiques adoptaient le matériel didactique du français langue seconde disponible sur le marché et en faisaient leur programme d'études. On se souvient qu'il n'était pas rare de voir privilégier dans la même commission scolaire, à des niveaux différents, des méthodes dont les approches s'opposaient.

> "C'était l'époque où s'affrontaient les deux grandes écoles: la structuraliste américaine d'une part et la structuro-globaliste et audio-visuelle européenne d'autre part. Nous nous trouvions parfois, au sein de la même commission scolaire, au centre de controverses des spécialistes de la didactique du français, langue étrangère. Les nouvelles théories des vedettes-linguistes, à chaque congrès de l'ACLA (l'Association canadienne de linguistique appliquée), nous faisaient relever la tête ou courber l'échine de honte d'appartenir, bien malgré nous à l'une ou l'autre école ..." (GODBOUT, 1984).

Il semble que l'annonce d'un nouveau programme spécifique pour les classes d'accueil remplisse d'inquiétude les professeurs de ce secteur. Cette initiative, selon ce conseiller pédagogique était d'autant plus nécessaire que les programmes de français (en langue maternelle et seconde), ne répondent pas aux besoins de cette population en début d'apprentissage. L'un propose un enrichissement et une objectivation qui reposent sur un acquis linguistique que possèdent les élèves francophones à leur arrivée en classe. L'autre ne tient pas compte de la nécessité d'un enseignement intensif du français, qui doit devenir rapidement la langue d'enseignement, ni d'une sensibilisation culturelle mutuelle, essentielle pour des élèves majoritairement nés à l'étranger. En conclusion, le conseiller pédagogique de la CECM souhaite qu'à travers le programme des classes d'accueil et les activités du guide pédagogique surtout, l'on retrouve la dimension interculturelle qui actuellement fait défaut.

> "Que ce soit en classe d'accueil ou en classe régulière, les enseignants qui reçoivent des étudiants de langue étrangère doivent se familiariser avec de nouveaux modèles d'intervention pédagogiques, mais aussi faire preuve d'ouverture envers les différentes cultures qui nous rejoignent aujourd'hui. Ainsi, par des échanges continus, les uns et les autres deviendront les partenaires dynamiques d'une pédagogie interculturelle" (GODBOUT, 1984).

Cette didactique de l'interculturel que tous appellent à grands cris, elle reste à construire. Mais elle doit se fonder sur des résultats de recherche qui viendraient appuyer ce concensus si parfait qui se dessine dans ce secteur de l'enseignement des langues secondes à des minorités culturelles. Elle nécessite une analyse intégrée de cette situation didactique devant combiner au moins trois composantes:

a) Le matériel didactique, qui doit renvoyer à une analyse psycho-socio-linguistique qui en légitime le contenu, la progression et la présentation. Faire l'économie de cette analyse revient à miser sur l'intuition ou à se laisser conduire par la mode.

b) Les procédures d'apprentissage, qui doivent s'accorder, d'une part au matériel mis en oeuvre, d'autre part aux données psychologiques disponibles. La formation, tant initiale que continue, des professeurs peut prendre pour thème privilégié l'étude des fondements et de la réalisation de ces procédures.

c) Les finalités et les objectifs qui doivent être explicités de manière opérationnelle, et non pas seulement philosophique ou "politique". C'est seulement en effet, à partir de cette explicitation que l'on peut préciser des critères d'évaluation et l'efficacité de l'enseignement.

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QUEBEC FRANCAIS (1984), No 41:

a) Classe d'accueil: "Ces classes ont pour but de faciliter l'insertion à l'école française et l'intégration à la collectivité québécoise d'élèves non-francophones dont le séjour au Québec n'excède pas 5 ans et qui fréquentent l'école française pour la première fois. Ces classes visent à développer chez l'élève une connaissance suffisante du français et à leur assurer le complément d'une formation générale qui tienne compte de leur âge et de leur niveau de scolarisation antérieure à leur arrivée au Québec.

Les classes d'accueil sont dispensées dans les écoles exclusivement de langue française. Elles bénéficient du rapport maître/élève suivant: au niveau de la maternelle 1/15, au primaire 1/12 et au secondaire 1/10. Cependant, selon le décret, la moyenne du nombre d'élèves par groupe est de 15 à la maternelle, 16 au primaire et au secondaire. Le maximum 16 et 19. L'inscription se fait tout au long de l'année. La durée moyenne du séjour en classe d'accueil est de dix mois. Le séjour peut cependant être prolongé pour une deuxième année dans le cas d'analphabétisme ou de retard scolaire important".

b) Classe de francisation: "Ces classes poursuivent les mêmes objectifs linguistiques que les classes d'accueil. Elles s'adressent aux élèves non-francophones qui vivent au Québec depuis plus de cinq ans et qui fréquentent l'école française pour la première fois.. Pour assurer aux élèves un apprentissage suffisant du français ces classes bénéficient des mêmes avantages que les classes d'accueil quant au ratio. Par contre, l'inscription dans les classes se termine au 30 septembre et la maternelle de francisation ne reçoit les élèves qu'à demi-temps".

c) Mesures spéciales d'accueil et mesures spéciales de francisation: "Ces mesures sont offertes dans le cas où le nombre d'élèves ne justifie pas l'ouverture d'une classe. Alors l'élève est intégré directement en classe ordinaire. Il en est retiré à des périodes déterminées pour recevoir un enseignement intensif du français".

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L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES LANGUES SECONDES STANDARD AUX MINORITES CULTURELLES A BRUXELLES

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Résumé / Abstract

Brussels is a city of one million inhabitants with an official bilingual status (French and Dutch). About one quarter of the population is not indigenous but consists of migrants from mediterranean countries. As a consequence Brussels schools are confronted with very heterogeneous groups of pupils, the proportion of migrant children ranging from 0 to 100 per cent. In this paper three main areas are discussed in relation to teaching migrant children a second language (French or Dutch) at primary school level:

a. how to develop communicative competence;

b. how to ensure a correct pronunciation (owing to the age of the children, a "soft" method without explanation about articulation or drills is proposed);

c. how to improve non-verbal communication (how, for instance, the teacher's interpretation of the children's behaviour, gestures, etc. is liable to influence his/her evaluation of these children's education and proficiency.

Les sociétés européennes qui accueillent actuellement des migrants ont un certain nombre de caractéristiques communes (L. PORCHER, 1984, 21, cite les "identités" suivantes: déracinement hors de la société mère, oppression socio-économique, tendance à la ghettoisation, résurgences xénophobes dans les pays d'accueil, aspiration à un droit à l'expression, revendications concernant les droits de l'homme, etc.), mais elles manifestent par ailleurs une extrême diversité.

Je m'efforcerai de décrire, dans les limites de temps et d'espace fixées mais avec le plus de précision possible, une situation bien particulière, à savoir l'enseignement de base des langues "standard" aux enfants des minorités socialement défavorisées à Bruxelles (ce qui permet de laisser de côté l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur et l'enseignement aux adultes).

Dans le cadre ainsi défini, j'examinerai trois aspects particuliers de cet enseignement, choisis en fonction de leur importance, de l'attention insuffisante qui leur est généralement accordée et enfin de mes intérêts personnels de grammairien, intéressé aussi par la phonétique et par la didactique des langues. A partir du cadre très réduit choisi pour la première partie, j'espère pouvoir passer ainsi, dans la deuxième partie, à des considérations plus générales et susceptibles d'être étendues à d'autres contextes.

Le plan de mon article sera donc le suivant:

I. La situation à Bruxelles

   A. L'agglomération bruxelloise (ses habitants et les langues qu'on y parle);

   B. Les migrants à Bruxelles (qui sont-ils? Leur présence dans les écoles, les problèmes que pose cette présence, les solutions).

II. Trois problèmes

   A. l'apprentissage de la compétence communicative;
   B. la phonétique;
   C. le non-verbal.

I. La situation à Bruxelles

A. L'agglomération bruxelloise compte dix-neuf communes, dotées chacune d'une administration propre. Ce fait a des implications importantes dans le domaine de l'enseignement maternel et primaire. En effet, presque toutes les écoles officielles sont à ce niveau communales; même si elles sont également financées (traitement, subsides) par l'Etat, les modalités de gestion peuvent varier, p. ex. en fonction des moyens des diverses communes. Parallèlement aux écoles officielles, il existe un important réseau d'écoles libres, en majorité catholiques.

L'agglomération compte un peu moins d'un million d'habitants, dont un quart environ d'étrangers. Elle a officiellement un statut bilingue, français-néerlandais, mais l'"image" sonore et visuelle est nettement francophone (enseignes, publicité, langues parlées dans la rue ou dans les magasins, etc.).

H. BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1984) classe les Bruxellois dans les catégories suivantes: francophones autochtones unilingues de niveau social aisé, francophones autochtones unilingues de niveau modeste, bilingues autochtones, flamands autochtones unilingues de niveau modeste, immigrés flamands et immigrés wallons. Il est difficile, sinon impossible de déterminer l'importance exacte de ces six groupes. Des enquêtes fondées sur des critères différents donnent des pourcentages variables pour le nombre de personnes s'exprimant le plus souvent en français et en néerlandais. De toute façon, que le rapport exact (?) soit 75/25 ou 85/15, il est incontestable que partout à Bruxelles, mais à des degrés divers, les migrants sont plongés dans un milieu essentiellement francophone.

B. Si la population autochtone de Bruxelles n'a fait que décroître au cours des dernières années (de 901,629 en 1970 à 759,418 en 1981 et 734,217 au 1.1.1984), l'arrivée de nouveaux migrants a compensé le départ des Belges. Actuellement, il y a officiellement plus de départs que d'arrivées de migrants, mais la forte natalité parmi les immigrés fait en sorte que leur apport au chiffre de la population continue à croître, même si la croissance est nettement ralentie (248,002 au 1.1.1983, 248,217 au 1.1.1984).

Les groupes d'étrangers les plus fortement représentés à Bruxelles sont par ordre décroissant les Marocains, les Italiens, les Espagnols, les Français, les Turcs, les Grecs (et ensuite les Britanniques, les Zaïrois, les Hollandais, etc.). Il faut noter que parmi les nationalités indiquées ci-dessus, on n'a pu faire aucune distinction entre les ouvriers migrants et les représentants des classes plus favorisées. L'ordre d'arrivée des ouvriers migrants fut grosso modo: d'abord les Italiens (années 50), les Espagnols (années 60), plus récemment les Turcs et les Marocains. Cet ordre n'est pas sans importance: en effet l'arrivée des premiers groupes de migrants italiens ne causa pas beaucoup de problèmes d'insertion dans la société bruxelloise du fait du nombre encore peu élevé, des similitudes sur le plan linguistique et culturel renforcées encore par le fait qu'une partie de ces immigrés arrivait à Bruxelles après un séjour plus ou moins long en Wallonnie ou au Limbourg (mines). Pour les mêmes raisons, renforcée par une certaine accoutumance à la présence italienne, l'arrivée des Espagnols ne causa pas de gros problèmes. Ceux-ci surgirent lorsque l'immigration se fit plus massive et amena à Bruxelles des représentants de nations linguistiquement et culturellement différentes.

Les enfants immigrés vont à l'école. Comme d'une manière générale les enfants sont plus nombreux que dans les familles belges, la proportion d'enfants d'immigrés dans nos classes est naturellement plus élevée encore qu'au sein de la population globale. Comme, d'autre part, les migrants se sont installés ou regroupés (voir table 1) plus particulièrement dans certaines communes ou certains quartiers, le pourcentage d'enfants immigrés peut varier de 0 à 100%.

D'une manière générale, il y a plus d'enfants étrangers dans les classes francophones que dans les classes flamandes (fait explicable par le milieu bruxellois, l'existence d'un plus grand nombre d'écoles francophones, pour certains la proximité linguistique ou des contacts antérieurs avec le français) et aussi davantage dans les écoles officielles que dans l'enseignement catholique (voir table 2).

Table 1. Population étrangère dans les dix-neuf communes au 31.12.1982 (nombre et pourcentage)

Saint-Josse	10,353	50.7	Uccle	12,935	17.1
Saint-Gilles	20,972	47.5	Woluwé St-Pierre	6,858	17.0
Schaerbeek	36,664	34.7	Woluwé St-Lambert	7,323	14.9
Molenbeek	23,562	32.8	Evere	3,319	11.0
Bruxelles	43,304	31.4	Auderghem	3,305	11.0
Ixelles	21,389	28.9	Jette	4,177	10.6
Forest	14,140	28.1	Berchem Ste-Agathe	1,788	9.6
Koekelberg	3,963	24.1	Watermael-Boisfort	2,321	9.3
Anderlecht	20,397	22.1	Ganshoren	1,901	8.9
Etterbeek	9,331	21.2			
TOTAL				248,002	25.1

Table 2. Elèves étrangers dans les écoles communales de deux communes bruxelloises (Forest et Saint-Gilles). Année 1984-85 (pourcentage).

Forest:

Ecole n°	1	3	4	6	7	9	10	12	5	TOTAL
Nb. total élèves	109	286	55	120	197	241	166	230	152	1556
% élèves étrangers	57	41	84	55	41	94	89	19	90	51

Saint-Gilles:

Ecole n°	2	3	4	5	7	TOTAL
Nb. total élèves	298	318	277	184	120	1197
% élèves étrangers	85	83	95	80	77	85

A défaut d'une politique générale de l'éducation des enfants d'immigrants, il y a une tendance générale qui, avec de nombreuses variantes au niveau des réalisations, peut se résumer comme suit. L'idée, assurément généreuse au départ, est "intégrative": l'enfant étranger, soumis à l'obligation scolaire comme l'enfant belge, doit avoir les mêmes possibilités de formation que celui-ci. Or celles-ci sont déterminées une première fois au terme de l'école primaire (six années d'étude). L'enfant qui entre à l'école primaire à six ans — c'est aussi le cas des enfants étrangers, qui sont actuellement presque tous nés en Belgique — doit avoir obtenu le diplôme d'études primaires à l'âge de 13 ans, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne lui est permis de redoubler une classe qu'une seule fois. S'il n'y parvient pas, il est dirigé vers une classe d'accueil d'une école professionnelle et son horizon est définitivement limité à ce type d'enseignement. Il importe de faire en sorte que l'enfant immigré termine ses études primaires dans les mêmes délais stricts que les enfants belges; en conséquence, il doit être à même d'assimiler le même programme. Pour l'aider à atteindre ce but, on organise des classes d'adaptation et de rattrapage.

D'autre part, soit pour valoriser la langue et la culture du pays d'origine, soit pour faciliter l'insertion de l'enfant dans le milieu scolaire du pays d'origine en cas de retour (hypothèse entrevue et entretenue par de nombreux migrants et parfois effectivement réalisée, surtout parmi les Espagnols), on organise des cours de langue maternelle et/ou en langue maternelle (soit sur les mêmes matières que celles qui sont enseignées au même moment aux enfants belges, soit sur des matières en rapport avec leur propre culture (la religion p. ex.). Ces cours, organisés par les communes ou avec l'aide des ambassades ou consulats, sont donnés pendant ou après les heures normales des cours.

Il est clair que le programme imposé aux enfants de migrants pose de nombreux problèmes tant sur le plan quantitatif que sur le plan du contenu. D'une part, la journée de ces enfants ne compte que vingt-quatre heures comme celle des autres enfants et ils ont droit eux aussi à des heures de sommeil, de repas et de délassement.

D'autre part, même si l'on s'en tient à l'aspect purement linguistique, les enfants de migrants sont confrontés à des tâches qui paraissent insurmontables. Dans les classes francophones, les enfants doivent suivre des cours de et en français, qui est aussi la langue du milieu urbain qui les entoure; de plus, ils ont des cours en L1, qui est en fait souvent une version standard très différente de la variante régionale ou du dialecte qu'ils entendent à la maison, et enfin à partir de la troisième année, ils doivent suivre un cours de néerlandais, "deuxième" langue pour leurs condisciples belges.

Que penser alors de certaines classes néerlandophones où le jeune immigré est exposé aux codes suivants:

L1 : le dialecte de la famille
L1 bis : la langue standard correspondante
L2 : le néerlandais standard
(éventuellement)
L2 bis : le dialecte flamand de certains condisciples
L3 : le français (dans la rue, à la TV, mais aussi en classe de français).

Qu'un certain nombre d'enfants immigrés résistent à tout cela, tient, on en conviendra, du miracle.

L'initiative la plus originale d'éducation biculturelle — à défaut d'être réellement interculturelle — est une initiative privée, celle du Foyer: dès l'école maternelle les enfants belges et étrangers (qui appartiennent à une seule nationalité) ont quelques activités communes (en néerlandais) et, tout d'abord, une part importante d'activités distinctes visant à développer leur acquis dans leur langue maternelle respective. Dans les classes de transition (dernière année maternelle / première année primaire) et ensuite dans les classes primaires, la part réservée à la langue étrangère diminue progressivement au profit des activités communes dans la langue de l'école, le néerlandais (Cf. SPOELDERS, LEMAN & SMEEKENS, à paraître).

II. Trois problèmes

A. L'apprentissage de la compétence communicative

HAMERS & BLANC (1983, 96) résument de la manière suivante les idées formulées dans CUMMINS (1981):

> "Il faut distinguer entre deux dimensions dans les activités langagières. Premièrement, une tâche langagière peut être plus ou moins exigeante sur le plan cognitif (cognitively demanding and cognitively undemanding tasks).
>
> Deuxièmement un comportement langagier est soit dépendant du contexte (context/embedded), soit indépendant du contexte (context/reduced). Les habiletés langagières développées en milieu scolaire ont tendance à être cognitivement exigeantes et indépendantes du contexte".

Le développement de ces "habiletés" ne va pas sans mal chez l'enfant unilingue, tous les enfants en parviennent pas avec une égale aisance à s'en servir pour produire les messages sollicités par le maître.

Pour l'enfant étranger, la tâche est presque toujours beaucoup plus lourde, du fait de la connaissance nettement moindre et parfois presque nulle qu'il a de la langue utilisée à l'école, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne dispose même pas des "habiletés" de base dans la communication interpersonnelle (traduction par HAMERS & BLANC de BICS, Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills, terme proposé par Cummins en 1980), d'un acquis lexical, grammatical, phonétique, etc. comparable à celui des enfants autochtones. On peut imaginer que deux types d'activités peuvent être particulièrement utiles à l'enfant étranger: d'une part des leçons données dans sa langue maternelle, qui en dehors des autres finalités de ce type d'enseignement, l'habitueront à des tâches langagières "plus exigeantes sur le plan cognitif" et moins "dépendantes du contexte", d'autre part des activités lui permettant d'acquérir dans la mesure du possible et le plus vite possible une compétence communicative (qui inclut bien sûr la compétence linguistique tout court) suffisante dans la langue utilisée à l'école (le français ou le néerlandais).

C'est à ce deuxième type d'activités que je désire consacrer les commentaires suivants:

En principe, l'approche requise pour développer le type d'activités langagières susceptibles de développer les "habiletés de base dans la communication interpersonnelle" ne devrait pas faire de problème. Les instructions ministérielles belges n'affirment-elles pas qu'"enseigner le français, c'est communiquer et c'est apprendre à communiquer" et que l'apprentissage doit se faire dans un climat (je cite)"permissif" et "débloquant"?

En fait, on est souvent loin du compte. La pratique ne correspond pas toujours à la théorie, pour diverses raisons dont la principale est sans doute le "passé frontal" — expression que j'ai formée à partir du "passé grammatical de l'enseignant" de H. BESSE (1981, 113) — de l'enseignant: l'expérience qu'il a trop souvent connue lui-même comme élève et plus tard comme étudiant (l'enseignant face à la classe)et la même attitude qu'il a peut-être adoptée au début de sa carrière. La classe "frontale" ne peut jamais donner lieu à une véritable communication — si ce n'est le type de communication caractéristique de la relation enseignant-enseigné et qui est limité à celle-ci. Cette attitude déteint sur tout le comportement de l'enseignant y compris sur sa manière de parler: celle-ci exprime sa position dominante dans la classe et est très riche en expressions métalinguistiques. Dans ce cas, l'élève a trop peu l'occasion de produire du langage; quant au langage qu'il perçoit, il n'est guère utilisable comme outil de communication.

L'autre obstacle majeur est constitué par le nombre d'élèves. Même lorsque celui-ci n'est pas trop élevé (ne dépasse pas la vingtaine) et même lorsqu'une disposition circulaire des élèves — et de l'enseignant parmi eux — assure une meilleure participation de tous, l'activité de la majorité des élèves reste réduite, ne fût-ce que parce que l'enseignant monopolise encore souvent la parole, pour entamer la discussion, l'orienter, ordonner, résumer ou commenter les interventions des élèves, etc.

Les classes d'adaptation peuvent, si leur rôle est bien compris, jouer ici un rôle intéressant mais il faut pour cela qu'elles répondent aux exigences suivantes:

a. travail avec un petit nombre d'élèves, de préférence au travail individuel;

b. participation souple de l'enseignant;

c. participation d'un ou plusieurs enfants plus âgés (tuteurs), immigrés ou non, dont la compétence langagière est plus riche.

Ce n'est qu'à ces conditions que des suggestions heureuses, telles que celles qui sont développées dans le chapitre 6, "Children Talking" de V. EDWARDS (1983) peuvent donner leur plein effet.

Il serait bien sûr sot de prétendre que tout va mal. Au contraire, les résultats obtenus peuvent être très encourageants, mais ils sont largement fonction des qualités propres de l'enseignant et du soutien indispensable que peut lui apporter le consensus régnant au sein de l'école, de l'équipe d'enseignants, en faveur d'une pédagogie ouverte, permissive, authentiquement "centrée sur l'apprenant".

B. La correction phonétique

Tout le monde sait que, lorsqu'on apprend une langue étrangère, on fait des fautes de prononciation. Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que, dans la littérature consacrée à l'enseignement aux migrants, on mentionne des fautes typiques, dont certaines se révèlent curieusement et désagréablement persistantes. Par contre, on semble s'être intéressé fort peu à la correction de ces fautes. Parmi les exceptions — il y en a — citons M. GARABEDIAN (1978) et M. TASSIN e.a. (1981). Généralement, il semble que l'on s'en accommode comme d'un mal nécessaire, soit qu'on espère qu'elles disparaîtront, d'elles-mêmes, à la longue — et cela se produit parfois!

Or l'importance d'une prononciation acceptable — sans confusion de phonèmes p. ex. — ne peut être contestée:

- il y a des gens (donc des élèves) qui aiment parler, mais qui ne le font que s'ils sont conscients de pouvoir le faire d'une manière correcte (ceci vaut aussi bien pour le vocabulaire ou la grammaire que pour la prononciation). Pour ces élèves, le fait d'avoir acquis rapidement une bonne prononciation supprime une cause réelle d'inhibition. D'une manière générale, on peut poser qu'une bonne prononciation favorise la fluidité verbale;
- Beaucoup d'immigrés installés en Belgique n'ont pas de caractéristiques physiques immédiatement repérables (couleur de la

peau, yeux bridés, etc.). Dans les classes, les enfants belges et non-belges se confondent encore davantage. Un des facteurs qui peuvent les distinguer est, dès lors, l'"accent". Celui-ci peut être considéré comme désagréable ou ridicule et être la cause directe d'une discrimination: il est donc utile d'essayer de le réduire ou de le supprimer;

- Enfin, la confusion phonologique, l'imprécision dans la production des sons est la cause directe de certaines fautes d'orthographe. Corriger l'une peut indirectement améliorer l'autre.

Il est donc utile, et à mes yeux, indispensable, de disposer d'une bonne méthode de correction phonétique. Il en existe une, qui est utilisée (trop peu) dans l'enseignement secondaire et dans l'enseignement aux adultes dans divers pays d'Europe occidentale: la méthode verbo-tonale de correction phonétique (voir R. RENARD, 1971 ou 1975). Fondée sur le principe que l'élève prononce mal ce qu'il a mal perçu (mal identifié), elle recourt à des procédés différents tels que: l'utilisation des éléments prosodiques (intonation, rythme), de la phonétique combinatoire, de la prononciation modulée du professeur.

Cette méthode me paraît tout particulièrement appropriée lorsqu'il s'agit d'enfants de migrants, surtout s'il est possible de travailler par petits groupes (activités d'adaptation) où l'amélioration de la prononciation peut être obtenue sans avoir recours à des exercices spécifiques d'orthophonie qui sont souvent fastidieux. De plus, le nombre de fautes étant nettement moins élevé que chez des élèves plus âgés, la correction phonétique doit pouvoir être intégrée dans l'ensemble des activités de perception et de production orales.

On sait que les activités de correction phonétique obtiennent de meilleurs résultats si la perception et la prononciation ne sont pas influencées par le code écrit. Dans la mesure du possible, il y a donc lieu de s'attaquer à ce problème dès l'école maternelle.

Enfin, il faut noter que pour les linguistes, les classes composées d'élèves bruxellois (francophones ou néerlandophones) et d'enfants immigrés sont un terrain idéal pour l'observation de fautes de prononciation: celles que l'on fait et celles que l'on ne fait pas, quel type de fautes; la relation entre ces fautes, les langues acquises et les langues enseignées, entre ces fautes et le nombre de langues avec lequel l'enfant est en contact; la relation entre la présence ou l'absence des fautes et la méthode utilisée, etc.

C. Le non-verbal

Un autre domaine auquel la littérature concernant l'enseignement aux enfants de migrants fait peu allusion — s'il est évoqué — est celui de la communication et du comportement non-verbal.

Celui-ci est, il est vrai, encore assez mal connu (voir p. ex. S. FREY (1984) au sujet de travaux de recherche actuellement en cours, avec des exemples frappants montrant combien une différence assez légère dans l'inclinaison de la tête peut donner lieu à des variations de jugement considérables à propos de l'expression (des sentiments) d'un individu).

Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que l'importance de ce phénomène échappe presque complètement aux enseignants (on ne leur en a jamais parlé). Or, le comportement non-verbal des enfants peut être mal interprété, soit dans ce qu'il veut communiquer comme sens, soit dans ce qu'il transmet sur le plan de l'affectivité: J'emprunte ce qui suit à REHBEIN (1981) — comparant l'activité non-verbale d'enfants allemands et turcs lors des jeux de rôles, il montre les conséquences possibles d'un répertoire gestuel mêlé. L'exemple qu'il décrit — page 125 et 126 — peut se résumer comme suit. Un enfant turc veut souligner par le geste le caractère incontestable d'une assertion, mais il choisit pour cela de tendre l'index vers son interlocuteur et de faire aller la main d'avant en arrière, ce qui — dans un contexte allemand — est perçu comme un geste de menace! Ce geste "von seinen Spielpartnern als äuBerst agressiv interpretiert", accroît la violence du jeu de rôles. Heureusement, dans ce cas, il ne s'agit que d'un jeu... Pour un essai intéressant de présentation d'un certain nombre de mimiques typiques des Français — en relation avec des expressions linguistiques et des schémas intonatifs — voir CALBRIS-MONTREDON, 1980.

D'autre part, d'une manière plus générale, le comportement non-verbal peut donner lieu à une appréciation injustement négative de l'éducation de l'enfant ou de son intérêt pour les études. PUJADE-RENAUD et ZIMMERMANN (1978, 30 et 32) évoquent "les processus d'attraction et de répulsion des maîtres à l'égard des élèves en fonction de l'origine socio-culturelle de ces derniers" et concluent que "toutes ces recherches font donc apparaître comment l'élève, avant même d'être jugé sur ses prestations scolaires (interventions orales, devoirs écrits, etc.) est producteur d'un ensemble de signes à partir desquels l'enseignant élabore, souvent sans le savoir, des appréciations qui pèseront sur les évaluations ultérieures de type 'classique'".

On peut se demander comment l'enseignant apprécie — positivement ou négativement — l'intensité ou le comportement "agressif" de tel garçon maghrébin ou l'immobilisme de telle fillette, porteuse d'une ancienne tradition qui, après l'emmaillotement du bébé, l'oblige à nier son corps et à le maintenir figé, sauf dans la danse. Et on ne peut s'empêcher de craindre le pire lorsqu'on lit, à propos d'enfants italiens, sans doute trop volubiles ou trop agités, le commentaire suivant d'un enseignant: "Nous supposons — en nous fondant sur notre expérience — qu'une attitude autoritaire donne les meilleurs résultats". Les instructions ministérielles françaises (p. 3984) précisent d'ailleurs après avoir décrit la classe comme un "endroit où le dialogue vrai peu apparaître" qu'il importe cependant que le maître, sans se départir du naturel de la conversation emploie lui-même et exige de la part de l'enfant un langage bien articulé, précis, dépouillé de gesticulations, et exempt de vulgarité" (je souligne S.D.V.).

Or, il faut bien se rendre compte qu'en bonne pédagogie des langues tout se tient, par exemple les trois domaines que nous venons d'évoquer: il paraît illusoire de vouloir faire acquérir du langage d'une manière naturelle tout en imposant une discipline trop rigide et en interdisant aux enfants d'accompagner leur activité langagière de gestes naturels; de même la méthode de correction phonétique que je préconise est incompatible avec la contrainte et l'immobilité (P. GUBERINA et ses collaborateurs ont obtenu des résultats remarquables en utilisant les mouvements corporels comme support de la correction phonétique).

Conclusions

Au vu des situations extrêmement disparates et mouvantes que nous avons connues et que nous connaissons encore — songeons à l'enseignant qui à l'âge de trente ans n'avait jamais enseigné qu'à des enfants belges, qui quelques années plus tard s'est trouvé confronté à une classe comprenant environ la moitié de petits Italiens ou de petits Espagnols et qui maintenant, à l'âge de quarante-cinq ans a une classe presqu'exclusivement composée de petits Marocains — il n'est pas étonnant de constater que les résultats obtenus s'échelonnent sur une échelle qui va du succès le plus éclatant à l'échec le plus navrant. Les causes d'un tel état de fait son variées et multiples, mais il me paraît incontestable que, comme dans toute forme d'enseignement, mais plus encore lorsqu'il s'agit de classes à forte proportion d'enfants d'immigrés, le rôle des enseignants est capital. Pour que l'idéalisme et la compétence que l'immense majorité d'entre eux manifestent chaque jour dans l'accomplissement d'une tâche difficile puissent porter tous leurs fruits, il faut que les pouvoirs organisateurs les aident au maximum.

Je ne veux pas relever ici les nombreuses questions de détail (nombre d'élèves par classe, statut des enseignants auxiliaires, etc.) qui sont de nature à améliorer la qualité du travail — ou au contraire à lui nuire. Je voudrais terminer par deux considérations très générales.

D'une part, je crois que si une collaboration internationale telle qu'elle est évoquée par L. PORCHER (1981) est estimable et souhaitable, il est beaucoup plus important que (1) dans chaque pays, on se mette d'accord sur des options pédagogiques bien réfléchies et clairement formulées concernant l'enseignement aux enfants immigrés, (2) qu'ensuite, les pratiques découlant de ces options soient harmonisées et généralisées dans tous les réseaux d'enseignement et (3) qu'enfin, on leur assure une permanence dans le temps qui permette d'en juger les qualités et les défauts éventuels — il appartiendra certes alors à chaque enseignant, en fonction de sa personnalité et des classes qui lui sont confiées, d'en assurer la meilleure application possible. La permanence évoquée ci-dessus est indispensable pour donner de la stabilité à son travail. Cette même permanence et l'harmonie des pratiques seront aussi favorablement ressenties par les enfants immigrés dont la scolarisation, souvent déjà difficile en soi, est perturbée par les changements d'attitude et de pédagogie lorsqu'ils passent d'une école ou même d'une classe à l'autre.

D'autre part, si un tel consensus peut être atteint, il faut qu'il se matérialise dans la formation et le recyclage des maîtres. Il faudrait d'une part que, dans chaque école normale, l'enseignement tienne compte de la présence des enfants étrangers dans nos écoles, éventuellement sous forme de quelques cours dans un tronc commun, obligatoire pour tous, et de cours à option pour ceux qui se sentent attirés par l'enseignement pluri- ou interculturel. D'autre part, les initiatives passées en matière de recyclage des enseignants doivent être évaluées, remises en question, et lorsqu'on se sera mis d'accord — le plus vite possible — sur le contenu et la forme les plus appropriés, généralisées à tous les enseignants confrontés au problème de l'enseignement aux enfants immigrés. Ce n'est qu'à ce prix qu'on évitera la répétition d'erreurs manifestes et vraiment trop absurdes pour qu'on leur permette de subsister.

Je tiens à remercier M. De Greef, inspecteur cantonal, qui m'a fourni les renseignements concernant la population scolaire à Forest et Saint-Gilles et surtout les enseignants qui m'ont reçu dans leurs classes et ont accepté de discuter avec moi des difficultés qu'ils ont rencontrées et des solutions qu'ils ont essayé d'y apporter.

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PROBLEMES DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA LANGUE SECONDE STANDARD POUR LES MINORITES CULTURELLES

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Résumé / Abstract

Second-language and mother-tongue methodologies are equally inappropriate as a foundation for the language training of cultural minorities. Second-language methodologies are based on the assumption that the language is to be acquired in school, either as a subject-matter or as a school activity. The relationship between teaching and learning is taken for granted, as is the existence of levels of competence acquired in school and related to age-grade learning progression from year to year. Language minorities of the same age-grade level enter school with extra-scholastically acquired competence in the second language which varies individually from incipient to native-like. Few, however, can be classed in the same age-grade level as unilinguals for whom the language is the mother-tongue, since entire areas of their conceptual universe may exist only in their other language. Yet their combined language repertoire may be sufficient in their bicultural environment. The function of the school may be to enrich each of these repertoires, making the bilinguals biliterate while teaching them to keep their two or more languages apart.

Il faut admettre que le thème que l'on m'a proposé n'est guère facile. Il s'agit d'une didactique des langues pour les situations de contact interculturel. Parmi les milliers d'ouvrages qui traitent des méthodologies de l'enseignement des langues étrangères, il n'y a presque rien qui touche les méthodes consacrées aux situations de contact interculturel.

L'on n'est pas tous d'accord sur ce que comprend la culture. Même si l'on exclut toute les significations agricoles et physiques, il reste suffisamment de divergences d'opinion pour alimenter une vaste littérature avant même de se rendre aux complications du contact interculturel. L'idée de culture intrigue depuis des siècles les plus grands penseurs. Le grand poète anglo-américain, T.S. Eliot lui a consacré l'un de ses derniers ouvrages (Notes on the Definition of Culture). Il y a quelques années, un candidat au doctorat, voulant savoir la vraie signification de culture avant de s'engager dans une recherche interculturelle, a fini par trouver quelques douzaines de définitions. Certaines étaient mutuellement contradictoires. Dans un numéro d'une revue d'anthropologie, il a donc fait paraître une vingtaine de ces définitions. Suivant certaines de ces définitions, le contact interculturel pourrait comprendre le repas d'un occidental dans un restaurant oriental. Bien entendu, on ne peut guère entretenir des cours de langues pour les gens qui fréquentent des restaurants chinois. Il doit y avoir autre chose.

Pour bien comprendre le problème que le contact entre les cultures peut poser pour la didactique des langues, il faut donc bien savoir ce que l'on veut dire par "culture".

Dans la langue courante, on dit d'une personne qu'elle possède une belle culture; c'est une personne cultivée. On veut dire quoi exactement? Ce que l'on veut dire ne fait pas allusion à son apparence, son niveau social ou économique, ni à sa race, mais plutôt à ce qu'elle a acquis par son expérience personnelle, ses études, ses lectures, ses voyages, bref, le contenu de sa connaissance. Qui dit culture, dit acquisition. Ce que l'on acquiert — le contenu — décide du type de culture. On parle de la culture française, par exemple, et cela ne se borne pas au français. Au contraire, la majorité des adhérents de la francophonie n'habitent pas la France. Pour des millions de francophones de toutes races, de l'Afrique à l'Océanie, le français constitue leur seule langue de scolarisation. On estime que le nombre de francophones-langue maternelle (80 millions) est inférieur au nombre de personnes dans divers pays qui utilisent le français comme langue de culture ou langue auxiliaire (250 millions) (MACKEY, sous presse). Certaines de ces personnes possèdent une culture française plus profonde que celle du Français moyen.

Et cela nous mène à une distinction qu'il faut établir entre la culture d'une personne et la culture d'un peuple. C'est cette dernière signification, culture d'un peuple, que nous allons retenir. C'est l'idée de culture comme ensemble de connaissances, ensemble que possède un groupe social ou ethnique lui permettant d'identifier ses membres — groupe tel que la tribu, la nation, et même l'Etat-nation. En quoi consiste cet ensemble de connaissances? Il peut inclure les coutumes, la nourriture, les vêtements, l'habitation, l'histoire, les croyances et le comportement social, les traditions orales et la littérature écrite. Mais d'abord et avant tout, il peut comprendre une langue sans laquelle toutes les autres composantes deviennent de moins en moins authentiques. Car la langue est non seulement un moyen de communication, mais aussi elle constitue la représentation de tout ce que les générations antérieures ont considéré comme digne de représenter. C'est le découpage de l'univers par les peuples qui ont façonné la culture. C'est pourquoi il est difficile d'être de culture française si on ignore le français. Mais non pas l'inverse: on peut bien posséder la langue française tout en ignorant largement les autres composantes de la culture hexagonale — histoire, littérature, musique, sculpture, institutions et systèmes politiques. Plusieurs peuples ont adopté une grande langue de communication comme langue de culture (le français, l'anglais, l'espagnol, l'arabe, l'allemand, le portugais et d'autres langues de grande diffusion). Dans les Etats-nations fortement dialectalisés, tel que l'Allemagne, l'idée de langue de culture (Kultursprache) est bien répandue.

Dans le passé, à l'époque des sociétés établies, les individus ne faisaient point de distinction entre ces différents aspects de la culture, puisque les coutumes, les croyances et la façon de s'exprimer formaient un tout dans le système du comportement individuel, à l'intérieur d'un groupe, dont l'identité culturelle était bien marquée.

Mais la migration des peuples et la révolution dans les moyens de communication nous ont montré que l'identité culturelle était, en somme, un ensemble d'identités distinctes, comprenant la religion, les coutumes, l'art, la littérature, la musique, et la langue. Au 19e siècle, la création de l'Etat-nation a eu pour objet de faire de l'identité culturelle une identité nationale, de créer un peuple partageant la même langue et le même ensemble de connaissances. Mais après les guerres longues et nombreuses, l'Etat-nation a dû admettre à l'intérieur de ses frontières, d'autres peuples pratiquant d'autres coutumes et d'autres langues.

C'est ainsi que, dans l'Etat moderne, l'on peut avoir la nationalité d'un pays sans posséder sa culture nationale. On peut également appartenir à une ethnie sans posséder sa langue traditionnelle. Ici, il y a lieu de séparer l'idée d'ethnie de celle de la culture, car on confond souvent les deux. Bien qu'il y ait plusieurs définitions de ce que constitue une ethnie, elles sont toutes rejointes, non par l'idée d'une culture commune, mais plutôt par l'idée d'association à base d'une origine génétique commune (MACKEY, 1985). Il est vrai que les personnes d'une même origine génétique partagent souvent les mêmes coutumes, la même religion, voire la même langue. Par contre, les personnes qui partagent la même religion, ou la même langue, voire la même culture, ne sont pas nécessairement de la même origine génétique. Parmi des personnes d'origines ethniques très diverses, on trouve des catholiques et des protestants, des francophones et des anglophones, ainsi que des germanophones, des hispanophones, et j'en passe — bref, n'importe quelle langue ou religion ou autre composante culturelle est apte à composer la culture de n'importe quelle ethnie (ISAJIW, 1974).

Outre l'origine génétique commune, une ethnie peut donc se définir par un ensemble de traits culturels. Plus il y en a, plus l'ethnie est bien définie. Si, pour appartenir à une ethnie, il faut non seulement parler sa langue, pratiquer sa religion, se comporter d'une façon spéciale et traditionnelle, obéir à ses interdictions, y inclus peut-être celle qui défend l'exogamie, on exclut beaucoup d'adhérents possibles. Par contre, si l'ethnie s'identifie uniquement par l'origine génétique, elle finit par inclure beaucoup de monde tout en diluant sa culture. Par exemple, des millions de personnes, sachant qu'ils possèdent du sang irlandais, fêtent la Saint-Patrice, mais la plupart sont incapables de comprendre un seul mot de la langue irlandaise.

Bien que l'ethnicité peut inclure ou exclure des éléments spécifiques de culture, la culture n'englobe guère l'ethnicité. Il faut donc maintenir la distinction entre les deux concepts. Il en est de même pour la distinction entre culture et civilisation — cet ensemble d'institutions qui a permis à l'humanité de vivre dans des sociétés complexes. Quand la culture comprend la langue, celle-ci fonctionne à la fois comme sa composante majeure et sa représentation totale. Ce sont les cultures qui possèdent une composante linguistique qui, en contact avec d'autres cultures, causent des problèmes en didactique des langues.

Ce contact n'est pas toutefois un contact entre cultures telles quelles mais plutôt le contact entre personnes qui pratiquent des cultures différentes, et surtout et avant tout, des personnes qui parlent des langues différentes. Ce contact peut varier par sa nature et par son intensité, d'une région à l'autre, voire d'une personne à l'autre. Dans une ville peuplée par deux communautés culturelles, le contact peut se faire dans la rue, au travail, à l'école, et même à l'intérieur de la même famille.

En règle générale, une section de la population d'une telle ville devient par la force des circonstances un peu bilingue. Souvent ces bilingues proviennent tous de la même source, de la communauté culturelle qui a le plus d'intérêt à apprendre l'autre langue. Ils proviennent également des mariages mixtes. Le comportement langagier de ces familles bilingues peut être très variable. Un parent parle une langue autre que celle du conjoint, ou bien, chaque parent pratique le bilinguisme familial mais non pas avec le même dosage que les voisins bilingues. Il n'est pas surprenant que dans des situations de contact interculturel, le bilinguisme des enfants varie et par son contenu et par son intensité.

Les enfants arrivent à l'école avec une connaissance de chacune des deux langues — connaissances qui ne sont pas toutes identiques. Cela pose au professeur de langue des problèmes différents de ceux dont font état les manuels de didactique des langues.

Imaginez que, par exemple, après une formation comme enseignant de la langue seconde, on accepte un poste comme professeur d'anglais, dans une ville acadienne telle que Moncton, Campbelton ou Chéticamp, villes composées de Francophones et d'Anglophones en proportions égales. Si l'on applique les principes et les méthodes de la didactique des langues secondes, que se passerait-il? Si l'on utilise les méthodes directes ou des approches audiovisuelles conçues pour l'enseignement d'une langue seconde aux unilingues, on aura le sentiment que les élèves n'ont aucune motivation. Par contre, si l'on utilise une approche communicative, on aura l'impression de ne rien enseigner, puisque notre auditoire sait déjà bien se débrouiller dans l'autre langue. En dépit de la compétence des élèves en communication orale, on ne pourra pas dire qu'ils connaissent bien la langue. Que faire?

D'abord il faut bien comprendre la différence entre les populations scolaires unilingues et les populations qui viennent à l'école avec deux langues de cultures différentes.

L'enseignement à une population unilingue est basé sur certaines présuppositions que l'on prend pour acquises, à savoir:

1) que l'élève comprend sa langue maternelle;

2) que c'est la langue qu'il utilise au foyer;

3) qu'il arrive à l'école avec un vocabulaire normal;

4) que l'on peut utiliser ce vocabulaire comme base de son alphabétisation et également comme la base de toute son éducation ultérieure.

Pour l'enfant bilingue, ces hypothèses ne sont pas valables, comme l'atteste la faillite de la scolarisation de certaines minorités ethniques francophones en Amérique. Or, on a supposé que peut-être un enseignement de la langue comme langue seconde conviendrait. Mais cela s'est soldé également par un échec, car une telle politique est basée sur d'autres hypothèses, à savoir:

1) que l'élève, pour apprendre une langue étrangère, commence toujours à zéro;

2) que sa connaissance de la langue seconde provient, ou de l'enseignement, ou de l'utilisation du matériel;

3) que l'on peut avancer d'un niveau de langue élémentaire à un niveau supérieur par l'utilisation d'une méthode

Toutes ces hypothèses sont également fausses, du fait que l'enfant bilingue, qui n'ignore pas complètement la langue seconde, ne l'a pas non plus complètement maîtrisée. Son niveau de compétence n'est pas celui de son voisin bilingue.

L'usage d'une langue pour scolariser une population déjà exposée à une autre langue, pose des problèmes d'ordre linguistique et d'ordre conceptuel.

Avant même de commencer l'enseignement des matières dans l'une ou dans l'autre des langues, il faut parfois enseigner à l'enfant comment faire le partage entre les deux. Et cela, non seulement en lui faisant remarquer quels éléments appartiennent à quelle langue, mais en lui inculquant des automatismes efficaces pour résister inconsciemment aux interférences (MACKEY, 1965).

Il est vrai que, pour certains enfants, c'est seulement un bilinguisme ou un bidialectisme non réciproque qui sera possible. Ils comprendront les deux langues ou dialectes, tout en ne fonctionnant que dans une seule langue pour fin d'expression.

Ce qui complique davantage le problème, c'est la présence, dans la même classe d'élèves dont la langue du foyer n'est pas la même que celle des autres élèves à côté d'élèves qui utilisent deux langues au foyer — toutes les deux dans une forme dialectalisée.

L'une des langues — même les deux — sera loin de la norme scolaire, et en plus d'être dialectale, pourrait contenir un pourcentage d'éléments provenant de l'autre langue. Autrement dit, les élèves dans une même classe sont bilingues, ni de la même façon, ni au même degré. Ils peuvent posséder des compétences très variées et dans leur compréhension et dans leur expression de la langue scolaire, ainsi que dans la qualité et la pureté de la langue qu'ils ont apprise au foyer.

Outre les variations dans son degré de bilinguisme, il peut être difficile pour l'enfant de démêler complètement ses deux langues, surtout quand l'enfant bilingue a été exposé au foyer à un certain mélange linguistique. Cela est typique des minorités linguistiques partout au monde. Et le dosage du mélange varie d'un enfant à l'autre — ce qui complique considérablement la vie du professeur de langue.

Ce qui porte davantage à confusion, c'est que l'une des langues de l'enfant — voire les deux langues — peut être dialectale, tandis que l'enseignement se fait dans une langue normalisée. Par exemple, le fait que l'élève prétend parler telle langue au foyer ne veut pas dire qu'il comprendra un enseignement dispensé dans la version normalisée de cette langue.

L'enfant d'un milieu bilingue peut très bien posséder un répertoire linguistique et conceptuel normal et complet; mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'il possède le même répertoire dans ces deux langues. Quand il entre à l'école, son répertoire suffit à ses besoins puisqu'il est capable de traiter chaque secteur sémantique, ou dans une langue, ou dans l'autre, et parfois dans les deux, selon le conditionnement que lui a fait subir son milieu. Toutefois, il ne possède un répertoire dit complet ni dans une langue, ni dans l'autre.

En somme, les problèmes de l'enseignement en milieu biculturel découlent du fait que chaque milieu n'est pas bilingue de la même façon ni au même degré. Et comme la langue s'est adaptée au milieu, il faut adapter l'enseignement à la langue.

Comment adapter l'enseignement de la langue à un milieu de contact interculturel? A quoi le professeur de langue peut-il s'attendre dans un tel milieu? D'abord, il faut savoir que les situations de contact interlinguistique ne sont guère identiques. Bien que, à l'intérieur d'une ville, il peut y avoir contact géographique entre deux communautés, il n'y a pas nécessairement dans les deux cas la même interpénétration culturelle. Il peut même exister une situation de "deux solitudes", tandis que dans un autre milieu la situation peut être celle d'un bilinguisme intégral. Et s'il y a pénétration interculturelle, cela ne veut pas dire qu'elle se fait dans les deux directions.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il y a un certain nombre d'éléments connus qui touchent toutes les situations de contact interculturel. D'abord on remarque un énorme degré de variation interindividuelle. Cela découle du fait que le contact interculturel, dans la vie de l'individu, est souvent aléatoire, et par sa nature et par son importance. On voit que certains enfants proviennent de mariages interculturels où les deux langues du foyer sont pratiquées indifféremment. D'autres enfants sont devenus bilingues plutôt par contact avec leurs voisins.

La nature de ces contacts varie encore davantage. Si, par exemple, l'enfant de famille bilingue a l'habitude d'aider sa mère dans la cuisine, ses besoins langagiers dans ce secteur sémantique seront satisfaits dans une langue plutôt que dans l'autre. Pour son voisin bilingue, ce sera peut-être l'inverse. Si les deux enfants bilingues fréquentent la même classe, on peut difficilement les mettre dans la même catégorie, ni pour la langue maternelle, ni pour la langue seconde. Il y a aussi des différences quantitatives. Les bilingues sont rarement également bilingues. A titre d'exemple, permettez-moi de vous fournir quelques cas qui, pour nos besoins actuels, sont nécessairement simplifiés.

Si l'enfant unilingue normal arrive à l'âge scolaire avec un vocabulaire passif d'environ six mille mots, on peut s'attendre à ce que l'enfant bilingue normal arrive avec au moins le même nombre de mots. Mais ces mots ne seront pas répartis de la même manière. La répartition complémentaire des deux langues de l'enfant bilingue pourrait démontrer la dominance d'une de ces langues, ou bien, elle peut tendre vers l'égalité des deux langues. Par exemple, l'ensemble des six mille mots de vocabulaire passif qui suffisent aux besoins de l'enfant pré-scolaire peut se composer, par exemple, de quatre mille pour le français et deux mille mots pour l'anglais — ou l'inverse. Par contre, le nombre de mots compris pourrait être d'environ trois mille dans chacune des langues, selon les domaines de l'expérience vécue du jeune bilingue.

Dans chaque catégorie, il y aura également des différences individuelles, non seulement dans la répartition des connaissances selon la langue, mais également dans le nombre de mots, de locutions, et d'autres éléments linguistiques connus dans les deux langues. Car il y aura certains types de contact interculturel qui obligeront l'enfant à apprendre des expressions équivalentes dans les deux langues. Par exemple, si l'enfant aide et sa mère et sa grand-mère dans la cuisine, et les deux adultes utilisent des langues différentes, l'enfant peut arriver à posséder deux ensembles de mots pour le même secteur sémantique. Plus il y aura de secteurs bilingues, plus il y aura de vocabulaire total. Le bilingue qui arrive à comprendre trois mille mots dans chacune des langues pourrait arriver à comprendre un certain nombre de ces mots dans les deux langues, augmentant ainsi son vocabulaire total. Si ce contact bilingue touche tous les secteurs de la vie, l'enfant peut arriver à comprendre un vocabulaire normal (six mille mots) dans chacune de ses langues pour un total de douze mille. A cette variation individuelle dans la répartition des deux vocabulaires, il faut donc ajouter une variation de degré de bilinguisme par secteur sémantique.

Nous avons utilisé, à titre d'exemple, le vocabulaire. Ce qui est vrai pour le vocabulaire est également vrai pour les différences dans la capacité d'expression, les différences dans la prononciation, et dans la manipulation de la syntaxe des deux langues. Autrement dit, la plupart des élèves seront capables de communiquer dans les deux langues, à divers niveaux, sur divers sujets, à divers degrés de compétence — de tels élèves savent déjà comment communiquer. Quelle que soit la méthode — audio-linguale, directe, audio-visuelle ou je ne sais quelle formule magique — si l'on présente des éléments d'une des langues, on risque toujours d'enseigner du connu.

La didactique des langues en situation de contact interculturel est donc non seulement un problème d'approche; elle est également une question de contenu. La première chose que remarque l'enseignant qui arrive dans un milieu de contact interculturel, c'est que les enfants mêlent les deux langues qui se trouvent être en contact — et cela d'une façon déroutante. Car à côté d'un mélange qui fait partie de leur norme, disons, par exemple, des anglicismes courants dans le français d'une communauté bilingue, il y aura aussi un pourcentage élevé d'interférences purement aléatoires. Contrairement à ce qui se produit dans un cours de langue pour unilingues, l'interférence ne touche pas toujours la langue la plus faible; elle déforme souvent la langue dominante. Ici il y a lieu d'expliquer ce que l'on entend par interférence et interlangue.

Par interférence, nous entendons l'utilisation des éléments d'une langue dans le discours d'une autre langue. Cela comprendra, dans notre contexte, la manifestation des particularités de la langue première sur le parler et les écrits des apprenants de la langue seconde.

Par interlangue, nous entendons l'intégration dans un seul code des éléments provenant des deux langues — la langue première et la langue seconde. L'intégration est un phénomène de langue. L'interférence varie par sa fréquence dans le discours; l'intégration par sa disponibilité dans la langue. C'est ainsi qu'une interférence de haute fréquence, dans un échantillon de discours, peut se confondre avec un élément d'intégrations dans la langue. Seuls les tests bilingues peuvent indiquer leurs degrés d'intégration. Le degré le plus élevé se manifeste comme emprunt linguistique. Donc, si l'interférence est un accident du discours, l'emprunt est une composante de la langue. Toute langue, semble-t-il, contient des éléments empruntés à d'autres langues.

L'interférence se manifeste non seulement au niveau de l'oral mais également au niveau de l'écrit. Outre les mots étrangers, l'enseignant trouvera des éléments d'orthographe provenant de l'autre langue ainsi que des éléments de syntaxe et des tournures de phrase, en somme, tout ce qui relève de l'expression.

Par contre, l'interférence ne touche guère les automatismes de la compréhension, ni à l'oral, ni à l'écrit. Autrement dit, le bilingue comprend ses interlocuteurs dans une ou dans l'autre des deux langues. C'est seulement quand il doit répondre ou s'exprimer qu'il aura toujours tendance à mêler les deux langues. Plus les langues sont similaires, plus il y aura d'interférence (MACKEY, 1953).

Chez l'individu, le taux d'interférence varie selon les matières, les situation et les interlocuteurs, et cela d'une façon instable, d'une journée à l'autre, d'une personne à l'autre, et selon le niveau de stress.

Avec une population scolaire biculturelle qui mêle ainsi les deux langues sans difficulté d'intercommunication, tout en les comprenant également, la priorité didactique n'est guère la capacité de communiquer dans la langue seconde, mais plutôt la correction de la langue. C'est le contraire de l'approche communicative.

Dans les situations où le contact interculturel engendre des bilingues extra-scolaires, la première tâche de l'école sera de démêler les deux langues avant de les perfectionner. Plus le contact est intime, plus il sera difficile de distinguer entre la langue maternelle et la langue seconde.

Il ne s'agit guère d'une seule langue dominante, puisque la dominance dépendra du domaine. Il faut souvent prendre les langues comme ensemble de ressources langagières individuelles dont le contenu, la nature et l'interprétation linguistique varient d'un individu à l'autre (FRANCESCATO, 1981).

Tout cela suppose l'élaboration d'une didactique des langues tout à fait spéciale, voire contraire à celle que l'on utilise pour la langue seconde, et également contraire à celle que l'on utilise pour la langue maternelle. Il ne s'agit plus de tolérer les erreurs afin de faciliter la communication. Au contraire, il faut corriger les erreurs pour que la qualité de la communication dans chacune des langues devienne acceptable.

Il ne s'agit plus d'éviter la traduction afin de pouvoir décourager l'interférence dans le discours. Au contraire, il faut utiliser la traduction pour séparer les deux langues, comme moyen d'éliminer l'interférence. Il ne s'agit plus de remettre à plus tard l'apprentissage de l'écrit afin que l'oral soit d'abord bien ancré. Au contraire, il faut favoriser l'écrit comme moyen de perfectionnement de l'oral. En somme, il est indispensable d'utiliser une approche où les deux langues de l'élève sont confrontées l'une à l'autre.

Tout cela, dit-on est impossible dans un contexte scolaire. Au contraire, puisque les automatismes de compréhension peuvent servir de modèle, on peut fournir du matériel didactique — livres de lectures, textes sonores, qui conviennent à l'individu. Puisque l'écrit doit dominer, chaque élève doit faire ses travaux écrits au niveau de sa compétence — y inclus des thèmes et des versions, même si cela doit faire appel à des techniques que la didactique des langues a depuis longtemps rejetées.

Bref, le but primaire de la didactique des langues dans une situation de contact interculturel est de montrer à l'élève comment s'exprimer dans une langue à la fois. Il faut donc une méthode où l'apprentissage domine l'enseignement. Cela suppose que l'on vise non pas le groupe, mais plutôt l'individu.

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SECTION V

Problèmes macrologiques et micrologiques dans l'étude de l'éducation multilingue et multiculturelle.

Macrological and micrological issues in the study of multilingual and multicultural education.

MACROLOGICAL AND MICROLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Résumé / Abstract

Les cinq termes clés du titre de cet article sont passés en revue en soulignant le manque de cohésion entre chaque concept dans la recherche contemporaine sur l'éducation multilingue. La notion de problèmes est prise en considération par une approche qui démontre que si ceux-ci persistent, leur cause se situe chez les spécialistes, lesquels ont des difficultés à dominer la nature interdisciplinaire de l'objet d'étude; par contre, le multilinguisme lui-même ne doit pas être abordé comme un problème en soi, mais plutôt comme un composant normal du potentiel éducatif. Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, les approches micrologiques sont considérées comme plus aptes à expliquer les résultats comparables ou contradictoires des effets de l'éducation multilingue, plutôt que les approches à grande échelle. Un aperçu est donné des recherches en cours à l'Ecole Européenne de Bruxelles, lesquelles sont basées sur le modèle d'acculturation comme moyen de réconcilier les approches micrologiques et macrologiques. La notion d'éducation multilingue est mise en doute, tandis qu'une critique de l'élément culturel de cette éducation démontre que le seul moyen de l'obtenir serait de dépasser le cadre limite du cours de langues afin de l'intégrer dans le programme entier.

The topic we have been asked to address ourselves to contains five clear sub-components, each of which is potentially so vast that, in the framework allotted, it is impossible to go beyond a cursory examination. Moreover, to link these sub-components can only be attempted by some arbitrary method of approach. The following treatment represents some personal reflections on multilingual education based on the hazard of observation of a restricted number of situations.

The five sub-components gravitate around the key terms problems, macrological, micrological, multilingual and multicultural which I will arbitrarily coordinate by means of a further concept, that of fragmentation, by which I refer to the state of the art. I shall also, of necessity, consider the prefixes multi- in two of the sub-components as shorthand or bi- or multilingual and multicultural phenomena (unless clearly specified) given that many of the arguments will be based on research involving only two languages.

My starting point is to question the persistent and almost pernicious coupling of the connotation "problematic" to discussions on multilingualism as having a destructive ricochet effect on attempts to handle a form of education that should be the norm rather than the exception. For as long as we specialists continue to discuss multilingualism in education in the implicit judgemental fashion that so many non-specialists do, on a par with problems of illiteracy, school dropouts, drug-taking, or whatever, we are perhaps unwittingly compounding the negative aura that surrounds a phenomenon which is probably natural for a statistical majority of the world's population (LEWIS, 1976, 151; MACKEY, 1976, 13; OKSAAR, 1983).

Our approach should be similar to that of the provision of general education, numeracy and mathematical skills, literacy and social awareness, on the assumption that although some pupils may have problems in these areas they are nevertheless unquestioned as fundamental to education and consequently provided to the best of our intellectual and financial abilities. If we accept multilingualism as a normal component of human potential we can then appraise it in a way similar to that of literacy and numeracy where different levels of proficiency will be met with but where basic skills are provided for all. For the question seems to be, "Who's afraid of bilingualism?" to which the reply might well be, "The articulate, white monoglot" with an entrenched fear, based largely on anecdotal or emotional reactions, of losing out to those who have an extra skill that may or may not be marketable.

If problems there are they lie with us researchers who are unable to grasp the many dimensions of multilingualism in our present state of knowledge, unable to fit our fragmentary knowledge into coordinated and accepted frames of reference that link up pure linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pedagogics and politicolinguistics, and unable to get what we do know across to the vast majority of monoglots behind the policy makers. The result is a weakening of our research impact which is polarized between the success stories of elite bilingualism (FISHMAN, 1976; BAETENS BEARDSMORE, 1979, 1980; SWAIN and LAPKIN, 1982; *Language and Society*, 1984; BAETENS BEARDSMORE and SWAIN, 1985) and the depressing polemicized debate around migrant education as illustrated by SKUTNABB-KANGAS and TOUKOMAA, 1976; EKSTRAND, 1979; PAULSTON, 1982 (to name but a few).

This fragmented thrust of research concerns often leads those focussing on migrant education to ignore the findings of successful elite programmes as irrelevant to the social and pedagogic needs of underprivileged groups. Instead, multilingual education provision should be seen as representing a continuum where the success and failure rates might possibly be interpreted as a reflection of general education provision, and indeed this is what CUMMINS (1984a) convincingly sets out to do. From this perspective one can highlight the inconsistency behind the fragmented approaches to language provision in the curriculum at present.

Most societies consider foreign language provision as an asset on the curriculum but teach languages so that they can hardly be learnt (through lack of time), let alone used. The immersion experience for majority groups has revealed that languages can be taught so that they will be used. Migrant education often falls between the two by teaching the majority language in a bilingual exit programme so that the minority language will disappear. The only serious accounts of this polarisation have been produced by CUMMINS (1981; 1984) whose general approach I consider as macrological.

CUMMINS' theoretical work begets the question as to how one can apply macrolevel considerations in the light of the widely diverging models of bilingual provision across the world and couple these to the multidisciplinary facets of successful acquisition alluded to earlier. For the macrolevel highlights widespread sociocultural norms and expectations (FISHMAN, 1972) and is synthetic in nature, yet from the literature it seems to restrict itself to broad accounts of multilingual provision while often neglecting the reality of the outcome, namely, how bilingual are the recipients at the end of the process? Even the highly reputable, longitudinal Canadian immersion research falls into this category, since the solid, data-based results provided tend to discuss broad levels of achievement, primarily in terms of receptive skills, with little mention of differentiated productive skills or how well the recipients reflect a range of ability in actually producing the second language. Given that unilingals from any school system reflect this broad range one would expect bilingual products of immersion programmes to be similar while still having gained an adequate mastery of the second language.

In the field of multilingual education several scholars have attempted to produce macrolevel frames of analysis, most of which are extremely difficult to apply with any consistency. FISHMAN (1976) distinguishes between three major types of bilingual education in terms of the goals or "sociocultural expectations", namely transitional, enrichment and maintenance programmes, with further refinements to these major categories. Yet when one examines the actual provision these distinctions often serve little purpose. Enrichment programmes of the immersion type are also maintenance programmes since the ultimate goal is to prevent language shift; maintenance programmes as offered by many international schools often contain an enrichment element; transitional programmes designed to promote shift to the majority language may or may not be enrichment programmes depending on the degree of abandonment of the L1 under the effects of subtractive bilingualism and the quality of achievement in L2. The table in BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1980) on the linguistic goals of the multilingual schools he investigated clearly brings this mixed perspective to the fore. Moreover, whatever the primary goals may be, transitional, enrichment or maintenance programmes generally lead to one language becoming dominant, though not necessarily the same for all the types of population. Although such classifications help to perceive major goals they in no way clarify practical distinctions in outcome, specifically, individual differentiation in bilingual competence or a par with individual differentiation in other school subjects, including the L1.

A more controversial macrolevel analysis is that produced by SKUTNABB-KANGAS (1984, 125ff & 237ff) in which she links up the language of instruction with what she sees as the major societal goals of a particular programme. The refinement here is that enrichment programmes may become assimilaroty for minority groups or may lead to language maintenance for both minorities and majorities depending on the strategies employed; that immersion enrichment programmes for majorities may lead to transitional submersion cases for minorities; that what is additive for majorities may become subtractive for minorities; and that the consequences may be positive for majorities and negative for minorities.

What such generalizations fail to bring out is the case of the "poor little rich kid" in the elite programmes who does not develop highly proficient bilingual skills or the "good little migrant" who does develop bilingualism. Yet such cases have informally been brought to my attention in my investigation of schools though to my knowledge there is sparse mention of these examples in the literature, let alone any account of these exceptions. As COOPER (1983, 60) has state:

> "The advantage of the summative approach is that it can deal with notions of great generality and scope. Its disadvantage is that it tends to be removed from the data of direct experience".

Other attempts at macrolevel analysis lead to similar questions. SPOLSKY, GREEN and READ (1976) provide an ambitious model for analysis on this scale, in the form of three hexagonal figures which attempt to reflect the interaction of situational, operational and outcome levels of multilingual education in terms of linguistic, psychological, sociological, economic, religio-cultural and political parameters. In the final analysis, however, all such models provide is a framework for a broad descriptive comparison between different schooling systems, giving fewer theoretical insights into success or failure than does CUMMINS (1981; 1984a) and still less explanation of differentiated outcome within any one given situation. MILAN (1982) has produced a "Generative Analysis of the Constituent Dimension of Bilingual Education" in which he examines the following parameters: attitudes towards bilingualism, attitudes towards the languages in question, schools systems' position towards dominance in a marked language, determination of the bilingual education clientele, amount of community participation in the formulation of the bilingual curriculum, manner in which community input is delivered. However, all these examples bring us full circle back to MACKEY's (1972) contention that due to the various combination of factors present any single definition of bilingual schooling would be either too wide or too narrow to be of any use in planning or research, for what is true of one combination of factors is untrue for another.

An alternative approach is to examine large-scale, societally determined endeavours in terms of the end-product or "widespread cultural norms and expectations" in which case the obvious model is the solid, longitudinally based Canadian experience with various types of immersion programmes. This successful phenomenon, amply substantiated in the literature, has led to a publication destined for the United States, Studies on Immersion Education: A Collection for United States Educators (1984) which reports on and warns against attempts to apply a model from one context (Canada) to a different sociolinguistic and sociopolitical environment, the U.S.A. In other words, the Canadian model should not be considered as for export in a simplistic way, as indicated by HERNANDEZ-CHAVEZ in the volume in question since the Canadian "norms and expectations" are totally different from those prevalent in the United States. It would be totally wrong to assume that Canadian models can be transposed without modification to other countries and indeed it is possible that the success of the Canadian experience might impede the development of indigenous solutions to different societally determined multilingual education requirements. CUMMINS (1984a) repeatedly warns of this danger. Consequently, it is doubtful whether any macrolevel analysis is for export, except in the very broadest terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the theoretical insights gleaned from macro-level investigations do provide a means of analysing successful versus inadequate provision in broad terms, as CUMMINS (1981; 1984a; 1984b) does. These analyses help to account for the polarized success rates by means of the notions of context-embedded and context-reduced communication, linked up with cognitively demanding versus cognitively undemanding linguistic activities and related to the theory of a common underlying linguistic proficiency which determines the success of bilingual achievement in terms of length of contact with two languages. CUMMINS (1981, 4) also points out that

> "the sociocultural determinants of minority students' school failure ... are more fundamental than linguistic factors"

by which he could be referring to both macro and micro features but where the analyses and arguments are macro-determined.

An examination of the macrolevel literature reveals that sociocultural determinants tends to refer to things like amount of input, length of residence, programme structure, ethnic, status and class features, attitudinal patterns, global test scores and the general insertion of a given programme in a particular social context. An alternative macrolevel analysis that attempts to explain differentiated linguistic and academic success within minority communities is OGBU's (1978) distinction between "caste, immigrant and autonomous" minorities which reflects differentiated scholastic success patterns among blacks, Hispanics and Asian immigrants in the United Stated. Here again it is felt that this analysis goes little futher than describing given facts with no solutions as to how to overcome problems, unless one follows an absurd implication (not suggested by OGBU, of course) that Hispanics should adopt the cultural dispositions of Asians. Moreover, the general approach to bilingual education in the United States is self-defeating in that it is designed towards rapid exit from a special programme and transition to monoglot education, thereby concentrating on how to make the bilingual (?) as monoglot as possible within the shortest time span, cf. CUMMINS (1984a, 265)

> "... the bilingual experience in the United States hardly represents a model of rational language planning".

One of the few attempts at discrete macrolevel comparisons between differing multilingual education provision in widely diverging contexts is that carried out by BAETENS BEARDSMORE and SWAIN (1985). This study compares achievement in second language acquisition in Canadian immersion programmes, designed primarily for language enrichment, and European School bilingual education, designed primarily for language maintenance, where both promote French as a second language. Using Canadian designed standardized test materials it was found that 13+ year olds in Canada who had received approximately 4,500 hours of French obtained similar test scores to European School 13+ year olds who had received approximately 1,300 hours in-class French and that this similarity could not be explained in terms of programme design, class status, ethnic background, length of residence, or any of the more evident features that come to the fore in macrolevel investigations. It is only in terms of speculation on what could be classified as microlevel approaches that one can explain the similarities of results across the two populations.

FISHMAN (1972) maintains that the microlevel deals with individual behaviour at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters, while MILROY (1983, 103) points out that

> "... people interact meaningfully as individuals (at the microlevel) in addition to forming parts of structured functional institutions such as classes, castes, or occupational groups (at the macrolevel)."

Moreover, BREITBORDE (1983, 175) argues that

> "... much of what occurs at the microlevel is based on macrolevel features, and ... the social system and its structure are crucial aspects of the macrolevel which enter into the definitions of interactions and people's use of language in them".

BEATENS BEARDSMORE and SWAIN's attempt to account for the comparable test scores takes the above positions into account, though without any detailed evidence. From the questionnaire used with the Canadian and European populations it was clear that pupils' self-motivated use of French and the opportunity to use this language outside the classroom was high for the Europeans and low for the Canadians. Apart from at home and with relatives, French tends to be used at least sometimes and often more with friends outside school, between classes and at lunch, and out in the community by the Europeans, whereas immersion children report little self-initiated use of French. In the European School French has an immediate pertinence beyond the purely classroom requirement, whereas in immersion contexts French is not often used in the environment outside the classroom, is not used for inter-pupil contacts in playground communication, is not part of a multilingual setting which makes it a normal component of other than classroom experience. SWAIN (1983) further points out the significance of the microlevel element when she looks at the relationship between input and output in achievement levels by stating that it is not input per se (or classroom controlled features) that is important to second language acquisition, but input that occurs in interaction where meaning is negotiated. It seems that in the context of the European School the negotiating of meaning outside the formal context of the classroom plays an important role in accounting for the similar test score results to those achieved by immersion children.

A modest attempt is at present under way to test the microlevel features that seem to play such an important role in the European School context, on the assumption that in the field of bilingual education, and largely thanks to the Canadian research, macrolevel investigations might well have reached the extent of their limitations. But here the question arises as to what sort of model we can turn to that can best incorporate the ideas put forward by MILROY and BREITBORDE alluded to earlier. Here I would cautiously put forward two approaches, the first of which is at present being tried out in the European School.

SCHUMANN (1978a; 1978b) developed his acculturation model of second language acquisition specifically to account for acquisition under conditions of immigration and lengthy residence in a second language environment without any language instruction. This model is based on the social psychology of acculturation and interconnects social factors and attitudinal dispositions, though it does not, obviously, take classroom instruction into account. In the present European School investigation we are trying to build up from the macrolevel comparison produced by BAETENS BEARDSMORE and SWAIN by incorporating those elements of SCHUMANN's model that seem pertinent to the task, in order to tap the interactional elements which may account for the level of achievement in French by the pupils concerned. To do so, a small number of pupils are being investigated, some of whom have French as L2, others French as their L3 (and either German or English as L2), in a pilot study to discover means of operationalizing SCHUMANN's model and hopefully correlating it with differentiated linguistic ability as revealed by global test measures.

SCHUMANN posited the broad concepts of social distance and psychological distance as primary determinants in the relationship between acculturation and bilingual attainment. Under social distance he refers to several factors which affect the nature and amount of contact speakers of one language may have with those of another, thereby influencing the amount of input provided. The assumption is that the greater the social distance between the two groups of speakers the more difficult it is for either or both of them to become bilingual. This is assessed by looking at the following:

- social dominance patterns where a politically, culturally, or economically superior group tends not to acquire the language of the inferior group, as for example when colonizing forces fail to learn the languages of the conquered territories. On the other hand the subordinate group may resist learning the language of the dominant group, e.g. certain American Indians;
- levels of assimilation, preservation or adaptation which determine whether speakers of language A give up their specific life style and values (assimilation), maintain these (preservation), thereby affecting the nature and quality of contacts with speakers of language B, or adapt to the life style and values of language B group while maintaining those of language A for intra-group contacts. This factor is significant in analyzing inter-generational differences in bilingual proficiency in immigrant communities whereby the first generation is the least assimilated, the second often adaptive and the third frequently assimilated and tending towards unilingualism in the majority language;
- degree of enclosure which refers to the sharing or separate use of such institutions as churches, schools, recreation facilities, etc. The more these are shared the lower the degree of enclosure and the greater the possibility of cross-lingual contacts;
- cohesiveness and size of the language group which determine the amount of contact between speakers of different languages, the more cohesive and the larger a group is the less likely it will need to seek out opportunities to use another language;
- congruence or similarity of the two cultures in presence, greater similarity making language learning potentially easier to accomplish even though it might not do so in fact;
- attitudes towards the other community, positive attitudes increasing the likelihood of language acquisition, negative attitudes decreasing it;
- intended length of residence where a lengthy stay is likely to promote more contacts with the other group, and more linguistic interaction than a short stay (SCHUMANN, 1978a, 29-31; 1978b, 77-86).

Under psychological distance SCHUMANN gives a series of subcomponents of which the three most important in our eyes are as follows (for others, cf. SCHUMANN, 1978a, 31-34; 1978b, 86-99):

- culture shock relating to the ease or difficulty with which the cultural attributes borne by the second language and its speakers are assimilated. In situations where the new environment creates disorientation and stress it can lead to rejection of the new community and a minimizing of efforts to acquire its language;

- ego-permeability which refers to the amount of inhibition felt in using a weaker language, the more permeable one is the more likely one is to take risks in trying out the weaker language;
- motivation, whether this is integrative or instrumental, determining the path one takes in pursuing bilingualism.

Now it is highly likely that the above sub-components of social and psychological distance interact in different degrees and that in applying them to specific circumstances the different elements have to be weighted some way. However, it is also highly plausible that the sub-components represent a chain of causality whereby acculturation increases contacts with speakers of the second language leading to greater verbal interaction and enhanced potential for acquisition. What is interesting in this model is that it has the potential for incorporating different and sometimes conflicting individual achievements into more global group patternings in a consistent, and therefore comparable, frame of reference. That is, it should be able to explain why certain individuals from a particular group have problems with bilingual and bicultural proficiency whereas others from the same group do not. By the same token it should allow for comparison of group trends in widely diverging circumstances, through the weighting of each sub-component.

At this stage of our investigation it is not certain what the outcome in the Brussels European School will be, but it appears likely that we will have a clearer account for the comparability of the immersion and European School results than by simply looking at macrolevel models.

A second approach that might well be worth taking up is that put forward by ATTINASI, PEDRAZA, POPLACK and POUSADA (1982), synthetically summarized in POPLACK (1983), which looked into intergenerational perspectives on bilingualism by integrating community and classroom data among Hispanics in New York and then going in for careful microlevel investigations. ATTINASI et al. (1982, 5) take up the position that

> "... any analyses that do not extend beyond the walls of the classroom are doomed to inadequacy. Without an understanding of community norms and assumptions that underlie children's school behaviour, or knowledge about their behaviour outside of school, there can be no complete appreciation of their classroom activity".

What these studies stress is the need for long-term participant observation as part of an interdisciplinary approach to resolving problems in the study of bilingual education and their findings have refined or overturned many generalizations previously hypothesized as more or less universal, e.g. clear-cut compartmentalization for the maintenance of diglossia, differences and similarities between observed and reported language use; code-switching as a reflection of linguistic inadequacies, all of which proved to be the opposite of what had previously been assumed by scholars.

Within the framework of the present paper a question needs to be raised about the concept of multilingual education, namely what do we mean? If we are referring only to the presence of a multilingual population in a given school, then the reality shows us (cf. BAETENS BEARDSMORE, 1979; 1980) that most establishments providing for these pupils are at best only producing bilinguals and that in fact we should talk about multilingual populations in bilingual education. Apart from the European School system almost no network I know of, be it the so-called International Schools (many of which are basically monolingual in curricular structure anyway) or different types of experimental schools, provide multilingual education. The European School network, on the other hand, does work up to a trilingual system for all in secondary education, with a variety of options open for selection. Almost no investigations have been carried out on the results of this trilingual programme, though we are working on this at present. Personal communications from staff at the school indicate that levels of achievement in L3 do not match up to expectations, in spite of many favourable circumstances. For example, a pupil of Dutch origin, with Dutch as L1 in the school, may select English as L2 and achieve satisfactory bilingual competence over time. If this pupil also selects French as L3 in secondary education it seems that he soon attains a plateau of ability beyond which little progress seems to be made, in spite of the fact that French is the lingua franca of the school under investigation and that it is omni-present in the out-of-school environment.

If the teachers' reports prove to be founded then this has implications of a theoretical nature that need clarifying. For if CUMMINS' interdevelopmental and threshold level hypotheses are correct for explaining the relationship between L1 and L2 in scholastic achievement, then by the same token they should explain a similar relationship when L3 is introduced. As yet we do not know whether this is the case, but assuming the teachers are right then what happens when L3 is added? Does L3 get downgraded in the eyes of the pupils to the role of just another subject on the curriculum that might or might not be worth the effort to do well? does the presence of two languages enhance of inhibit the progression of the third? Until we look into this type of situation we have nothing to say about the widespread assumption that being bilingual leads to the rapid acquisition of other languages or about the belief that multilingualism is essentially similar to bilingualism.

The final element in our title, the multicultural element, is the most difficult to handle. The first difficulty lies with the definition of culture at the outset, and I have no intention of attempting what more specialized scholars have failed to achieve before me. Since we have no satisfactory conceptualization of what constitutes culture, as opposed to language, in a given society, I feel incapable of saying very much constructive about multiculturalism in education. Many scholastic programmes pay lipservice to multicultural awareness but when one looks at what goes on one sees nothing more than a shattering fragmentation of well-intentioned attempts to offer bits of culture that will hopefully fall into place in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the learner.

Schools I have observed in Birmingham, England, serving multiethnic populations without providing multilingualism paid lip-service to the cultural background of their pupils by selecting story materials from West Africa or India about snakes and huts which appeared to serve little purpose except salve consciences and provide an exotic story line to a learning task. In the United States frequent reference is made to different classroom behaviour to be expected according to culture of origin, e.g. eye-contact rules, turn-taking and deference rules, though none of this seems to be more than scratching at the surface of multicultural awareness. And the main question is, how much culture can be supplied as a discrete element of a multilingual programme when one bears in mind the time constraints imposed by the academic learning task in the curriculum? Only incidentally can cultural components be touched upon, dependent on a purely haphazard selection of what the teacher feels keen on, such as folklore, literary excerpts highlighting an intriguing cultural phenomenon, historical background information of the type provided in what the Germans call "Landeskunde" and the British "Institutions", or discrete cultural phenomena of the type pointed out by GODARD (1977) in his comparison of telephone gambits in the United States and France.

DESHAIES (this volume) points to the tensions between real interaction by individuals and their membership of a particular social class (or cultural group) and the opinions she expresses with reference to linguistic variation could apply equally to multicultural concerns, namely,

> "Analyser les variations ... implique que le chercheur doive d'abord partir des individus, de la diversité de leur expérience sociale, des tensions et des enjeux que celle-ci représente pour eux, ainsi que des conflits, des contradictions, des ajustements constants que celle-ci provoque".

From the linguist's point of view it is felt that the only pertinent way of integrating the language and cultural elements of a programme is to consistently supply the linguistic element via a thorough application of the theory of communicative competence developed by HYMES (1972). For this is the only theory that can achieve this goal since it involves the influence of both human biological make-up and culturally acquired knowledge in the determination of the structure of the language. The theory, then, is a combination of linguistic and social knowledge, or, to communicate in a socially appropriate fashion one must incorporate the cultural rules borne by the language (PHILIPS, 1983). Hence, if one were teaching the pronoun system it would presumably be pertinent to incorporate the ideas of the pronouns of power and solidarity (BROWN and GILMAN, 1970), as well as their displacement equivalents, like modes of address, formality markers, etc. Other examples of this type could be found for the purely language component of the curriculum but would still probably be inadequate.

DESHAIES (this volume) states that "Parler de société, comme parler de langage, c'est déjà parler d'histoire" which could be paraphrased into "talking about culture, like talking about language, is really talking about history". Given the time constraints on the curriculum it is highly likely that the cultural component needs to go beyond the language class and into other subjects preferably also taught in the second language and based on approaches which are definitely not monocultural. European Schools and certain international schools could serve as models here. In the European School network geography is taught to all pupils in a second language, with atlases, for example, giving place names in the language of the region they designate rather than in translation. History, also taught in the second language, incorporates both national and European history in an integrated framework which smoothes out national bias. The International School of Washington also teaches history via the second language using specifically designed materials that provide a multinational dimension to the background to culture (cf. GOODMAN and SCOTT, 1980). These examples serve as indicators as to how the multicultural dimension of language learning can be extended from the fragmentary approach which is inherent to the constraints of the classroom.

To conclude, it is felt that the fragmentation that has bedeviled progress in multilingual and multicultural education provision can only be overcome if the researchers involved attempt to coordinate their thrust so as to incorporate both macro- and microlevel research into an overall educative approach which extends the language and cultural elements across the curriculum and outside the classroom. By so doing we may hope to replace the problems by the more neutral concerns of questions and issues.

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A PROJECT OF COMMUNITY BILINGUAL EDUCATION: SOME THEORETICAL AND APPLIED ISSUES

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Résumé/Abstracts

Cette communication présente en seconde partie un projet à long terme d'éducation bilingue communautaire qui a pour but la mise en place d'un programme-pilote dans lequel l'enseignement serait donné dans deux langues, dont l'une est la langue nationale officielle, l'autre celle d'un groupe ethnique minotitaire important au niveau local. Une approche de recherche interdisciplinaire permettrait de préparer ce programme d'enseignement, d'en suivre le développement et d'en évaluer les résultats. Dans une première partie nous discutons les problèmes théoriques et idéologiques soulevés par l'éducation bilingue communautaire dans un contexte multiculturel. Ces problèmes sont abordés d'un point de vue interdisciplinaire et à des niveaux d'analyse macrologique et micrologique.

1. Theoretical issues in bilingual education

To account for the differential outcomes of bilingual education in a wide variety of contexts a number of theories or explanatory hypotheses have been put foward (For a comprehensive review see CUMMINS, 1984). Needless to say, these theories are, like all social science theories, strongly influenced by the ideological views of their authors, in particular regarding the role of education in society. If one considers one possible educational outcome, for example "academic underachievement", the following "causes""have been suggested:

- bilinguality[1] itself;
- lack of exposure to the dominant languages;
- lack of inter-ethnic contacts;
- cultural and linguistic mismatch between home and school;
- cultural alienation;
- low socio-economic status of students;
- relative status of the languages and groups in contact;
- etc.

The trouble with any one of these "independent variables", taken singly, is that their effects are not consistent across different contexts because they interact with other variables. We need to construct an experimental model that will, first, incorporate all the relevant factors and their possible interactions at all levels, from macrological to micrological, in different contexts; second, account for apparently conflicting evidence; and, third, suggest experimental pedagogical programs in bilingual education in place of existing solutions which are usually dictated by ideological motives or expediency, rather than by rational decisions based on the evidence of theoretical and empirical research. Because such a model requires an interdisciplinary approach that would examine the problem of bilingual education at all levels of analysis, it is still in the future. But there exist a number of partial theories, hypotheses and models, some supported by empirical evidence, others testable, which all point in a similar direction, although all of them finally founded on the rock of macro--micro and objective-subjective relationships, as I will attempt to show.

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[1] Bilinguality: A psychological state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as/a/means of communication. (HAMERS & BLANC, 1982).

It is now widely accepted that the different outcomes of bilingual education cannot be attributed to bilinguality per se, but on the one hand to intervening variables that mediate the effects of bilingual experience on children's cognitive, affective and academic development; and, on the other hand, to the social, cultural and educational conditions under which children acquire and develop their languages.

It was LAMBERT (1974) who first drew the distinction between "additive" bilinguality, in which the child adds another socially valued language to her repertoire at no cost to proficiency in her first, and "subtractive" bilinguality, in which bilingual children's performance in two languages reflects a stage in the subtraction of the first language and its replacement by the second. At a macro-level of analysis Lambert explained the very different outcomes by reference to the context of acquisition, in particular the economic and social background of the children - those from low SES, subordinate groups tending to develop a subtractive form of bilinguality -, and to the relative status of the languages in contact or conflict.

There is, however, no direct one to one relationship between the context of acquisition on the one hand, and the linguistic cognitive, affective and educational outcomes on the other hand. For differences between and within groups, such as strong cultural and educational family traditions or valorisation of a low status language, may prevent a substractive effect. It is therefore essential to distinguish between the context of subtractive and additive bilinguality and the possible outcome (Figure 1).

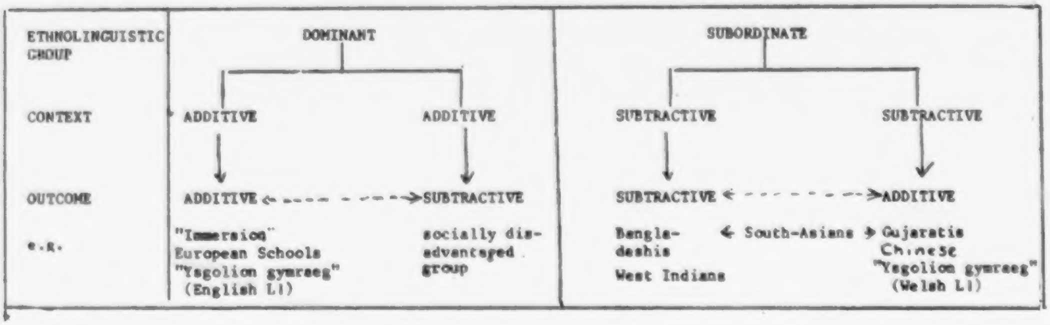


FIGURE 1 : CONTEXTS AND OUTCOMES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

To try to predict the cognitive and academic effects of different forms of bilinguality, CUMMINS (1976), making use of correlational data, hypothesised the existence of two threshold levels of linguistic proficiency: a first, lower threshold which must be attained by (consecutive) bilingual children if they are to avoid cognitive and academic deficits; and a second, higher threshold which must be reached for an additive form of bilinguality to develop. Such a hypothesis, however, did not make explicit the relationships between the languages and the nature of the language proficiencies involved at the two threshold levels.

In order to explain the relationship between the languages CUMMINS (1979) put forward a "developmental interdependence hypothesis", according to which in academic contexts the development of the second language is partly dependent on the level of development of the first. As for the nature of the language proficiencies CUMMINS (1980) observed that it took most minority group children considerably longer to achieve grade/age appropriate levels in academic skills than in face-to-face communicative skills. He subsequently refined this distinction by redefining language proficiency in the context of bilingual education along two continuous dimensions: the amount of contextual support present in the speech act (from context-embedded to context-reduced) and the degree of cognitive involvement in the academic task (Whether the task is cognitively demanding or not). This model has a developmental aspect to it in that the acquisition of language competence progresses from more to less contextualization and from less to more cognitively-demanding use of language. This would explain why minority children are allowed to pass into mainstream education on the basis of inadequate tests which tap only communicative skills and involve only context-embedded and cognitively undemanding tasks, when their new setting will insist on context-reduced and cognitively demanding tasks.

At this stage it is interesting to pause and reflect on Cummins's hypotheses for bilingual education methodology and testing on the one hand, and for the problems of macro-micrological levels analysis, on the other. Briefly, these hypotheses suggest that in a subtractive context the students' two languages must be developed on the dimensions and in the directions defined by Cummins, so that an additive form of bilinguality may be fostered. However, when Cummins comes to the question of what kinds of assessment procedures should be used for "entry" and "exit" purposes, he recommends for the former cognitively undemanding and context-embedded tests which are "fair" to all the children; for exit purposes he recommends cognitively-demanding, context-reduced tasks, as they more accurately reflect the demands of the monolingual classroom. These recommendations on language testing call for the development and validation of new types of tests for minority children: But are new tests what is really needed?

A more serious criticism of Cummins's approach concerns the absence in his explanation of affective, social and cultural correlates of bilingual development. His models are essentially cognitive-linguistic, i.e. remain at a micrological level, and they artificially isolate language from its meaningful social context. The dimensions of language proficiency defined by Cummins may be best conceived of as intervening micro-variables, not as independent causal factors. CUMMINS (1984) is of course aware of this problem and frequently refers to determining social factors; but nowhere does he develop a theoretical framework that would relate micrological variables, such as language proficiency and academic achievement, to macrological factors like social structure and power relationships.

We must turn to social psychologists of language for models that attempt to relate individual, subjective variables to structural, objective variables through the mediation of group strength perception or social network characteristics (On the role of social networks in the determination of group values and attitudes and controlling language behaviour, see the section on social networks in this volume). For example, GILES, BOURHIS & TAYLOR (1977) and BOURHIS, GILES & ROSENTHAL (1981) have developed the concept of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group relative to other groups and shown the importance of individuals' perceptions of their own and others' vitality for their identity and language behaviour. But, as ALLARD & LANDRY (1986) have shown, general beliefs or perceptions of factual situations contribute minimally to the prediction of cultural and language behaviour, in particular of assimilation. They suggest integrating affective and cognitive dimensions in terms of a system of beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality. But even here we remain at a micrological level of analysis. As long as the structural factors (number, status, institutional support) - even when the individuals' perceptions of these are mediated by systems of beliefs or social network characteristics - are merely descriptive and are not integrated into a predictive social theoretical model, one will not be able to explain how structural forces impinge on individual behaviour. We are left with a psychological theory of intergroup relations.

To date, the only attempts at integrating macrological and micrological levels within an interdisciplinary framework are those of BRENT-PALMER (1979) and PRUJINER & AL (1984). They have a lot in common at the macro-level. The former starts from a power-conflict paradigm, in which the unequal distribution of power among different social/ethnic groups is the basic element of the stratification system holding between the groups. The latter adapts a Bourdieusian model to a multi-ethnic situation (See PRUJINER, this volume): ethnic groups have different "capitals" or "assets" - economic, social, political, cultural, including language and education - and each group can be characterised in terms of its degree of control of major institutions and assets. In both models the

Dominant (D) group's power is expressed by (a) its legitimising power: it prescribes the legitimate language behaviour and values for itself and the Subordinate (S) groups; (b) its attraction power: it serves as the major reference group and model for the other groups' language behaviour, because its own language/dialect is the most valued, the norm compared to which other codes are perceived as illegitimate, deviant and, for this reason, are stigmatised; (c) the fact that the D-group mobilises all the major social institutions, in particular the education system, and has a direct impact on the S-groups' codes and performance styles. In this way the D-group lays down language norms and conditions of language education.

The two models differ when they try to explain the interface between macro- and micrological processes. BRENT-PALMER uses the symbolic interaction theory. According to this model the groups' status and power differences are reflected in social roles and played out in face-to-face interaction in everyday life situations. Thus, the individual's behaviour carries social information that can act as status or stigmatised symbol during interpersonal interactions, including language and classroom ones. In other words, the power relations holding between social and ethnic groups are acted out by individual members of these groups in the "politics of everyday life". In both models language is at one and the same time a symbol and an instrument of power relations; it molds, and is molded by these relations.

PRUJINER & AL use the mediation of social network theory to relate macro and micro processes. In the same study LANDRY (1984) attempts to integrate all levels, macro factors being linked to internal psychological factors via social networks. His model, if properly manipulated, should be predictive of language development, explaining, for example, how additive bilinguality can develop in a subtractive context, according to the different configuration of interactions between variables (See Figure 2). Indirectly, this model should provide a framework within which bilingual education programs can be planned.

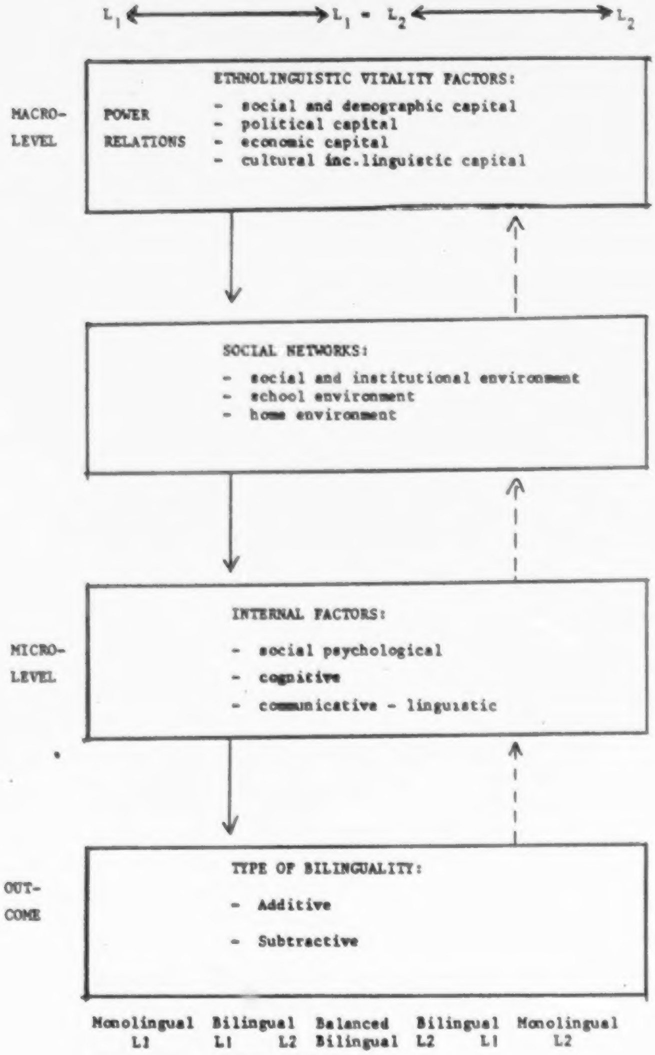
Before presenting the project of community bilingual education, it is necessary to turn to a last theoretical issue and briefly discuss the question of ideology in education. Perhaps the most fundamental issue in education in general and in bilingual education in particular is ideological: What kind of society have we got and what kind of society do we want? Should the education system reflect and perpetuate the dominant social and cultural values which are themselves reflections of existing power relations? In a multicultural society is the function of bilingual education to reproduce the dominant pattern, or should it function as an agent of social change, social justice and equality?

The main ideological positions which underlie and determine bilingual education policies can be defined as assimilationist, segregationist, separatist, integrationist and utopian. Each position has a different answer to two basic questions: (1) Should ethnic distinctiveness be maintained and developed? (2) Are interethnic contacts desirable? (See BERRY, 1984). The adoption of one or the other position may be the result of a decision by either the dominant group or the subordinate group or both together (For more details see HAMERS & BLANC, 1983, chapter 8).

Briefly, assimilation is the absorption of ethnic minority individuals and groups into the dominant modes and values of society. Here the aim of education is to ensure the assimilation of minority children and the traditional solution to the problem are submersion or, in order to facilitate transfer, avoid academic retardation and bolster up selfesteem, transitional or compensatory programs where the learners' mother tongue(s) is (are) used as a medium of instruction but only while they are learning the dominant language.

In the segragation model the dominant group deliberately excludes the subordinate group(s) from the dominant education system. It is up to the minority group(s) to organise their own provisions to educate their children. In the separatist case it is the minority group that decides to organise their own education.

FIGURE 2 : MACRO AND MICRO-FACTORS OF ADDITIVE & SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALITY


L1 ⟷ L1 = L2 ⟷ L2
MACRO-LEVEL
ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY FACTORS:
POWER RELATIONS
- social and demographic capital
- political capital
- economic capital
- cultural inc.linguistic capital
SOCIAL NETWORKS:
- social and institutional environment
- school environment
- home environment
MICRO-LEVEL
INTERNAL FACTORS:
- social psychological
- cognitive
- communicative - linguistic
OUT-COME
TYPE OF BILINGUALITY:
- Additive
- Subtractive
Monolingual L1
Bilingual L1 L2
Balanced Bilingual
Bilingual L2 L1
Monolingual L2

(ADAPTED FROM LANDRY, 1984)

The integrationist or pluralist position varies according to whether its proponents favour a private or communitarian view of education. If the former, the choice of bilingual education will be left to individuals; such a view, while promoting bilingualism for a few individuals, leads to assimilation for the group. Like the private position, the public pluralist view acknowledges a common, overarching core of societal and cultural values for all (on the concept of overarching core values see SMOLICZ, 1984). But it differs from it in that it demands public recognition and support for cultural and linguistic maintenance for all the minority group members who want it. An example of this is the teaching of, or in, ethnic/community/heritage languages and cultures for minority children in mainstream schools. Note that the aim of education in the mother tongue here is not to create linguistic apartheid or separation, but its very opposite, namely to help the child develop bilinguality.

The utopian or intercultural synthesis position originates from both the D- and D-groups who jointly decide to educate their children in their own and in each other's languages. An actual example of this would be those parents in some parts of Wales, from English-speaking, Welsh-speaking and bilingual Welsh-English backgrounds, who send their children to schools where the media of instruction are English (D) and Welsh (S). Of course, this is not difficult to achieve where there are two official languages, as in Wales. This should also be possible at the local community level, where there is no official minority language, but where one minority language predominates; where that language is a prestigious language; and where there are good intergroup relations between the minority language speakers and the rest of the community.

In Britain today the prevailing Dominant group ideology in bilingual education is the individualist pluralist one. Some in the dominant group may hold a communitarian integrationist view but, if the recent SWANN (1985) Report is anything to go by, they would rather see bilingual education alongside the mainstream, not inside it, except in the form of second language teaching, not as a medium of instruction. Many ethnic minorities, or at least those who claim to speak on their behalf, from within and from without, share the communitarian view of pluralism: they want a multicultural curriculum and mother tongue teaching for their children both in mainstream and parallel institutions. Now the main issue in interethnic group relations in Britain today is racism. Racism, it is claimed by some not without justification, is the cause of educational inequality. This has led to tensions and conflicts within the minority groups themselves: radical activists reject pluralism as a disguise for assimilation and fight for separatism, counter-culture. Others see the multicultural school as failing the black child by not equipping her with the skills necessary in a white man dominated society.

It is in this context, and with the models of bilingual development and education outlined in the preceding paragraphs in mind, that I now turn to the presentation of a Utopian Community Bilingual Education Project.

2. A project of community bilingual education[2]

Simply stated, the aim of this project is to set up an experimental bilingual program where both majority and minority children learn through the mediums of the majority language and one important minority language and to study the effects of this bilingual learning and teaching experience on the linguistic, cognitive, affective, social, cultural and educational development of majority and minority children and on the community as a whole. The setting will be a small number of pilot primary (infant and junior) schools in one local community where the minority language is spoken by the second largest group. In the experimental classes half the teaching will be done through the medium of English, half through the medium of a minority language. All children in those classes, whether they belong to the majority or the minority, will take part in the experiment.

Before the school-based part of the project can begin, a feasibility study is an essential first step. It will include, first, extensive consultations with all members of the local community, parents, community leaders, teachers, education authorities, among others. Second, as part of the research, an ethnographic investigation of the community will be undertaken so as to anticipate the impact of the experimental bilingual program on the community as a whole.

Although this experiment in community bilingual education involves pupils from majority and minority groups, a profile of only the minority group whose language has been chosen as one of the two mediums of instruction will be presented here, namely that of the Greek-Cypriot community in London.

Why choose Greek and not Bengali, Panjabi or Turkish, to name but four of the most frequently reported languages among London schoolchildren (The other languages of England, 1985). There are three main reasons for this choice: (i) the prestige of the Greek language, Classical and Modern; (ii) the "invisible" minority characteristic of the ethnolinguistic group in question; and (iii) the relatively high ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek-Cyprioy community. The following is a brief profile of that community in terms of demography, status and institutional support.

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[2] At the time of writing the project was still in its discussion stage.

Although the total population of Greek Cypriots in Britain is small (about 200,000) by comparison with other ethnolinguistic minorities, it is concentrated in a relatively small area of North London, where some 120,000 live. Greek-speaking schoolchildren form 34 per cent of all minority schoolchildren and in some schools up to 50 per cent of the pupil population (SWANN, 1985). Patterns of migration from Cyprus to Britain have varied, but by far the largest influx came in the 1950's and 1960's; it was characterised by the "cash nexus" and the "myth of return". But, since the events of 1974/75 in Cyprus, marked by Turkey's invasion, the vast majority of Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, see their long-term future in Britain. And the younger generations are developing different value systems from those of their parents and, chiefly through greater social mobility and exogamy, are establishing new patterns of relationships with English as well as other ethnic groups.

Economically, there is still a division between the sexes, men being traditionally shopkeepers, service or construction workers; women in the clothing industry, in catering and retail, usually in family businesses. Among the older generation there is a strong family tradition of hard work and saving to go back home one day. There is a small but growing professional class, a new generation of young men with a university education and young women in clerical jobs.

In terms of ethnicity the older generation has kept strong bonds with the Island and its traditional values. The "core" values of this older generation are kinship and patronage, which have helped to maintain the continuity of contact with Cyprus and the development of a cohesive, well organised Greek-Cypriot community. Other core values are language and culture. Finally comes religion, that of the Greek Orthodox Church which has an influence on community schools. The younger generations of Anglo-Cypriots tend to reject the family values; they believe in individual achievement, greater freedom - young women reject fixed marriages - and establish different social networks which include English and other ethnic groups.

Greek-Cypriots speak a dialect of Greek. The older generation speaks a variety of Greek which is already archaic compared to the evolving dialect of the Island and it sounds strange even to the people of Cyprus. The younger generations speak a London Cypriot dialect characterised by the presence of English loan-words, code-mixing and code-switching. The language of literacy is basically Standard Greek (Dhimotiki) and this creates difficulties for the dialect-speaking child. There exists a small but significant literary production in Cypriot Greek written by London Greek-Cypriots.

The repertoires and linguistic abilities of the Greek-Cypriot children in London vary along a continuum ranging from litearcy in Greek (52 per cent of schoolchildren can read Greek) to no knowledge of Greek, from Greek monolingualism to Greek-English bilingualism to English monolingualism. Attitudes and motivations apart this rather complex language situation will have to be taken into account. An important question is the position of educationalists in Cyprus vis-a-vis the acquisition of literacy skills: do they ignore the fact that pupils come to school with a dialect grammar, as seems likely? Are there studies of the problems associated with the home-school switch? Has the change from a diglossic situation (Katharevousa v Dhimotiki) to a new relationship (Dhimotiki-dialects) helped the Cypriot child or not? At one level learning to read and write in the Greek script (with its simplified accentuation system) might be less difficult for the English learner, because of the one to one phoneme-grapheme relationship which is much simpler than in English, than for the Cypriot, who speaks a dialect different from the standard.

These problems notwithstanding, Greek enjoys high prestige because of its association with Classical Greek language and culture and their influence on Western civilisation. English has a substantial Greek-based vocabulary, particularly in learned and scientific words. Greek is also a language of wider communication used in both spoken and written form in the USA, Canada and Australia; it is one of the official languages of the European Communities.

Institutionally, the London Greek-Cypriot community is well organised through Church, media and educational institutions. The first Greek language classes were set up before the Second World War under the auspices of the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1952 the Greek Parents Association was formed and later affiliated to the Union of Greek-Cypriot Educational Associations of Britain (OESEKA); they established the first Greek-Cypriot Community School in London. Mother tongue classes are organised with the help of teachers from Cyprus. The Schools Council Mother Tongue Project funded by the EEC, the Schools Council and the Inner London Education Authority, aims at producing teaching materials with special reference to literacy in Greek but in a wider, multicultural context (eg Bengali, English). It also makes use of existing English and Greek reading materials. Last, but not least, bilingual Greek-English teachers are being trained at the Middlesex Polytechnic. Without these recent developments our research project would not be able to take off for lack of suitable teaching materials, qualified teachers, and the support of the Greek-Cypriot community.

The mother tongue classes are important because they not only teach children to read and write in Greek, they also play a role in maintaining their ethnic identity and sharing a common experience. If bilingual education programs were introduced into mainstream schools, community mother tongue classes would still have a role to play.

From the above it will be apparent that the Greek-Cypriot community enjoys a relatively high ethnolinguistic vitality. Educationally, its children have an advantage compared to many working class English children, namely the value given to academic achievement by parents. However, there are problems. The chief one is the assimilation of Greek-Cypriot children into the dominant culture and the identification of these children with low self-concepts and aspirations by their teachers. Above all, the children' language and cultural background are devalued and even suppressed. Thus, the Greek-Cypriot child too experiences discrimination and racism as he is stereotyped as "different" or "stupid". The ILEA LITERACY SURVEY (1980) gives ground for concern about the performance in English of Cypriot children who underachieve: their mean reading scores at 8, 10, and 15 are ten per cent below United Kingdom norms. The SWANN (1985) Report gives the following reasons for the underachievement of these children:

- Lack of preschool provision which often means that the child's first contact with spoken English is at school;
- Inadequate provision for English as a second language;
- Inappropriate curricula;
- Lack of parental support;
- Teachers' lack of knowledge and understanding and need for more English-Greek speaking teachers;
- Low teacher expectation of pupils;
- Language prejudice;
- Effect of home-school switch and inter-generational conflicts;
- Influence of discrimination and racism, direct and indirect, within school and in the wider society.

This rapid and superficial profile of the Greek-Cypriot community in London is both static and one-sided. It fails to take into account the dynamic relations within the group between generational, social and sexual groups, and outside between in-group and out-group members. I have had to rely on two or three research studies and many not very reliable reports. What is urgently needed is a program of ongoing research which will:

(i) monitor the children' progress in the experimental and control groups, including their attitudes, motivations, integration, etc;
(ii) monitor the impact of the bilingual education program on teachers, parents, in and out of the micro-society created by the program.

It is hypothesised that by the end of the bilingual education experience children from all ethnic groups involved in the program will not have suffered academically compared to the control group, but will have developed an English-Greek bilinguality dominant in English for the English group, a dominant or balanced Greek-English bilinguality for the Greek group, and a dominant English-Greek-other trilinguality for other ethnic groups. It is further hypothesised that the experimental children will have more positive attitudes to their in- and out-groups; and that this positive attitude will also transfer to their peers and families. Finally, the experimental children will have a greater awareness of language and a greater motivation for learning other languages in the secondary school.

To conclude, we have no illusion about the difficulty of the undertaking and the chance of success of this project. A bilingual education program cannot of itself eradicate economic, social and cultural inequalities. However, it is hoped that it will have positive effects on the attitudes of the various micro-community members, in terms of inter-ethnic relations. This piece of utopian social engineering intends to go further than the St-Lambert experiment (LAMBERT & TUCKER, 1972) in two significant ways: First, it tries to turn a relatively subtractive context into additive outcomes. Secondly, it aims to extend beyond the school and the homes of the children concerned to the whole community. Not only is it hoped to foster positive attitudes among the children and their parents but to provide these children with a unique opportunity to use their two languages not only in school but outside. For the English children this means learning a language spoken around them, a language that has prestige beyond the community, thus relating in a real and significant way to children of very different ethnic backgrounds.

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COMMENTS

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The two papers on bilingual education both point out a number of similarities where the state of the art is concerned: from both papers it appears evident that bilingual education can no longer be planned, neither on the basis of a typology nor based on a macrosociological approach which ignores a number of intervening variables between social structure and educational outcome. From both examples given, namely BEATENS BEARDSMORE's experimental program of multilingual education in the Brussels International School and BLANC's proposed approach for minority children in the London area, it appears that researchers in the field of bilingual education now attempt to pay more attention to intervening variables.

However both researchers approach the problem at different levels: in the Brussels project an attempt is made to take individual variables into consideration whereas in BLANC's paper macrosociological variables are highlighted. Whereas we have very strong correlational evidence of the existent link between societal structure, ideology and educational outcome (e.g. CUMMINS, 1984), this should not prompt educators to neglect the intervening variables; even if societal variables can be viewed as causal to educational outcomes, intervening variables do have psychological reality: they are not mere passive in-between stages, but active socio-psychological processes, developed as a consequence of the interaction between the child's develoment and the society, which will play an equally important role in the educational outcomes. Both projects seem to be aware of the importance of intervening variables.

Two issues concerning the discussed topic deserve more attention. The first concerns the depth of our attempts to interdisciplinarity in the field of bilingual education. While BEATENS BEARDSMORE's approach to attend to individual variables is definitely a step forward in the right direction, the choice of SCHUMANN's model can be criticized because of its nature: it is just a typology of individual variables, based on correlational data but lacking a psychological theoretical framework. This type of "surface-borrowing" between disciplines might well be a dead end especially in the applied field of education where there is a need for an integrative approach at the theoretical level, which goes beyond simple borrowings. Whereas BLANC seems to be more aware of the relevance of interdisciplinary integration in his theoretical discussion this issue is unfortunately completely overlooked in the proposed projet; a micrological analysis is proposed at the societal level but there is a striking lack of concern with regard to the analysis of psychological variables. If BLANC's wishful thinking in the conclusion is "to turn a relatively subtractive situation into an additive one" it must be kept in mind that the concepts of "additive" and "subtractive" bilinguality are psychological in nature and must be treated as such. Otherwise his empirical approach is another exemple of surface-borrowing from another discipline.

The second important issue deals with the notions of fragmentations and problems. BAETENS BEARDSMORE comments with reason that we should stop dichotomizing between elite bilingual education and minority education but rather look at a continuum going from one pole to the other; he also insists that educators should stop thinking of multilingualism in terms of "problems". While in complete agreement with this approach, I would like however to point out that fragmentation might be an interesting empirical tool which entitles us to look at both poles of the continuum and at the transitions between them. The success stories of elite bilingual education might set the pace for the final aim but the failure of minority programs are equally informative in the sense that they might enable us to unravel the ingredients of the so-called "problem". Generally overlooked is the fact that in bilingual education the "problem" lies not with "bilingualism" but rather with "education"; that is, many problems attributed to the bilingual component are more general problems of developing literacy, the major task of education. How far is the failure of minority programs due to a lack of preparation for literacy? Fragmentation might have been useful in identifying where the "problem" lies. In this sense fragmentation and "problem-talking" might have had their use.